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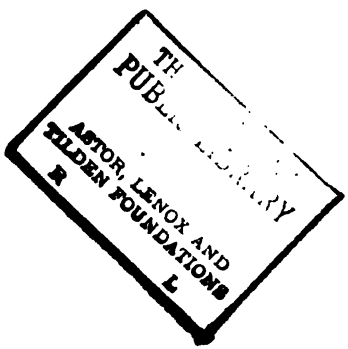
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THE WORLD'S GREAT EVENTS

AN INDEXED HISTORY OF THE WORLD FROM EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY

GREAT HISTORIANS

EDITED BY

ESTHER SINGLETON

EDITOR OF "THE STORY OF THE UNIVERSE," "TURRETS, TOWERS AND TEMPLES," "ROMANTIC CASTLES AND PALACES," "WONDERS OF NATURE," ETC.

ILLUSTRATED

VOLUME FIVE

FROM A. D. 1648 TO A. D. 1776

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THE VOYAGE OF THE "MAYFLOWER"

(A.D. 1620)

WILLIAM BRADFORD

AFTER they* had lived in this city† about some eleven or twelve years (which is the more observable, being the whole time of that famous truce between that state and the Spaniards), and sundry of them were taken away by death, and many others began to be well stricken in years, the grave mistress, Experience, having taught them many things, those prudent governors, with sundry of the sagest members, began both deeply to apprehend their present dangers, and wisely to foresee the future, and think of timely remedy. In the agitation of their thoughts, and much discourse of things here aboute, at length they began to incline to this conclusion, of removal to some other place.

The Pilgrim Fathers decide to emigrate.

At length, after much travail and these debates, all things were got ready and provided. A small ship was bought and fitted in Hol-

* The Pilgrims who had sought refuge from England in Holland.

† Leyden.

land, which was intended as to serve to help to transport them, so to stay in the country and attend upon fishing and such other affairs as might be for the good and benefit of the colony when they came there. Another was hired at London, of burden about ninescore; and all things got in readiness. So being ready to depart, they had a day of solemn humiliation, their pastor taking his text from Ezra 8, 21. "And there at the river, by Ahava, I proclaimed a fast, that we might humble ourselves before our God, and seeke of him a right way for us, and for our children, and for all our substance." Upon which he spent a good part of the day very profitably, and suitable to their present occasion. The rest of the time was spent in pouring out prayers to the Lord with great fervency, mixed with abundance of tears. And the time being come that they must depart, they were accompanied with most of their brethren out of the city, unto a town sundry miles off, called Delfts-Haven, where the ship lay ready to receive them. So they left that goodly and pleasant city, which had been their resting-place near twelve years; but they knew they were pilgrims, and looked not much on those things, but lift up their eyes unto the heavens, their dearest country, and quieted their spirits. When they came to the place they found the ship and all things ready; and such of their friends as could not come with them followed after them, and sun-

Solemn preparations for departure.

Delfts-Haven.

dry also came from Amsterdam to see them shipped, and to take their leave of them. The night was spent with little sleep by the most, but with friendly entertainment and Christian discourse and other real expressions of true Christian love. The next day the wind being fair, they went aboard, and their friends with them, where truly doleful was the sight of that sad and mournful parting; to see what sighs and sobs and prayers did sound among them; what tears did gush from every eye, and pithy speeches pierced each heart; that sundry of the Dutch strangers that stood on the quay as spectators could not refrain from tears. Yet comfortable and sweet it was to see such lively and true expressions of dear and unfained love. But ye tide (which stays for no man) calling them away that were thus loath to depart, their reverend pastor falling down on his knees (and they all with him), with watery cheeks, commended them with most fervent prayers to the Lord and his blessing. And then with mutual embraces and many tears, they took their leaves one of another; which proved to be the last leave to many of them.

The sad parting.

Thus hoisting sail, with a prosperous wind they came in a short time to Southampton, where they found the bigger ship come from London, lying ready, with all the rest of the company. . . . Being thus put to sea, they had not gone far, but Mr. Reinolds, the mas-

They set sail.

ter of the lesser ship, complained that he found his ship so leak as he durst not put further to sea till she was mended. So the master of the bigger ship (called Mr. Jones) being consulted with, they both resolved to put into Dartmouth and have her there searched and mended, which, accordingly, was done, to their great charge and loss of time and a faire wind. She was here thoroughly searched from stem to stern, some leaks were found and mended, and now it was conceived by the workmen and all that she was sufficient, and they might proceed without either fear or danger. So with good hopes from hence, they put to sea again, conceiving they should go comfortably on, not looking for any more lets of this kind; but it fell out otherwise, for, after they were gone to sea again about one hundred leagues without the Land's End, holding company together all the while, the master of the small ship complained his ship was so leak as he must bear up or sink at sea, for they could scarce free her with much pumping. So they came to consult again, and resolved both ships to bear up back again and put into Plymouth, which accordingly was done. But no special leak could be found, but it was judged to be the general weakness of the ship, and that she would not prove sufficient for the voyage. Upon which it was resolved to dismiss her and part of the company, and proceed with the other ship.

Delay at Dartmouth.

The *Speedwell* is dismissed.

The which (though it was grievous, and caused great discouragement) was put into execution. So, after they had took out such provision as the other ship could well stow, and concluded both what number and what persons to send back, they made another sad parting, the one ship going back for London, and the other was to proceed on her voyage. Those that went back were, for the most part, such as were willing so to do, either out of some discontent, or fear they conceived of the ill success of the voyage, seeing so many crosses befall, and the year time so far spent; but others, in regard of their own weakness, and charge of many young children, were thought least useful, and most unfit to bear the brunt of this hard adventure.

These troubles being blown over, and now all being compact together in one ship, they put to sea again with a prosperous wind, which continued diverse days together, which was some encouragement unto them; yet, according to the usual manner, many were afflicted with sea-sickness.

The *Mayflower* sails from Plymouth.

After they had enjoyed fair winds and weather for a season, they were encountered many times with cross-winds, and met with many fierce storms, with which the ship was shroudly shaken, and her upper works made very leaky; and one of the main beams in the midships was bowed and cracked, which put them in some fear that the ship could not be

able to perform the voyage. So some of the chief of the company, perceiving the mariners to fear the sufficiency of the ship, as appeared by their mutterings, they entered into serious consultation with the master and other officers of the ship to consider in time of the danger; and rather to return than to cast themselves into a desperate and inevitable peril. And truly there was great distraction and difference of opinion amongst the mariners themselves; fain would they do what could be done for their wages sake (being now half seas over), and, on the other hand, they were loath to hazard their lives too desperately. But, in examining of all opinions, the master and others affirmed they knew the ship to be strong and firm under water; and, for the buckling of the main beam, there was a great iron screw the passengers brought out of Holland, which would raise the beam into his place; the which being done, the carpenter and master affirmed that, with a post put under it, set firm in the lower deck, and otherways bound, he would make it sufficient. And as for the decks and upper works, they would calk them as well as they could, and ,though with the working of the ship they would not long keep staunch, yet there would otherwise be no great danger, if they did not overpress her with sails. So they committed themselves to the will of God, and resolved to proceed. In sundry of these storms the winds were so fierce,

The terrors at sea.

They resolve to proceed.

and the seas so high, as they could not bear a knot of sail, but were forced to hull for diverse days together. And in one of them, as they lay at hull, in a mighty storm, a lusty young man (called John Howland), coming upon some occasion above the gratings, was, with a seele of the ship thrown into the sea; but it pleased God that he caught hold of the topsail halliards, which hung overboard, and ran out at length; yet he held his hold (though he was sundry fathoms under water) till he was held up by the same rope to the brim of the water, and then with a boat-hook and other means got into the ship again, and his life saved; and, though he was something ill with it, yet he lived many years after, and became a profitable member both in church and common wealth. In all this voyage there died but one of the passengers, which was William Butten, a youth, servant to Samuel Fuller, when they drew near the coast. But to omit other things (that I may be brief), after long beating at sea they fell with that land which is called Cape Cod; the which being made and certainly known to be it, they were not a little joyful. After some deliberation had among themselves and with the master of the ship, they tacked about and resolved to stand for the southward (the wind and weather being fair) to find some place about Hudson's River for their habitation. But, after they had sailed that course about half a day, they

The plight of John Howland.

The *Mayflower* arrives off Cape Cod.

fell among dangerous shoals and roaring breakers, and they were so far entangled therewith as they conceived themselves in great danger; and the wind shrinking upon them withal, they resolved to bear up again for the Cape, and thought themselves happy to get out of those dangers before night overtook them, as by God's providence they did. And the next day they got into the Cape harbor, where they rid in safety.

Being thus arrived in a good harbor and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees and blessed the God of heaven, who had brought them over the vast and furious ocean, and delivered them from all the perils and miseries thereof, againe to set their feet on the firm and stable earth, their proper element. And no marvel if they were thus joyful, seeing wise Seneca was so affected with sailing a few miles on the coast of his own Italy; as he affirmed that he had rather remain twenty years on his way by land than pass by sea to any place in a short time, so tedious and dreadful was the same unto him.

Landing of the Pilgrims.

But here I can not but stay and make a pause, and stand half amazed at this poor people's present condition; and so I think will the reader too, when he well considers the same. Being thus passed the vast ocean, and a sea of troubles before in their preparation (as may be remembered by that which wente before), they had now no friends to welcome

them, nor inns to entertain their weatherbeaten bodies, no houses or, much less, towns to repair to, to seek for succor. It is recorded in Scripture, as a mercy to the apostle and his shipwrecked company, that the barbarians showed them no small kindness in refreshing them, but these savage barbarians, when they met with them (as after will appear), were readier to fill their sides full of arrows than otherwise. And for the season it was winter, and they that know the winters of that country know them to be sharp and violent, and subject to cruel and fierce storms, dangerous to travel to known places, much more to search an unknown coast. Besides, what could they see but a hideous and desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts and wild men? And what multitudes there might be of them they knew not. Neither could they, as it were, go up to the top of Pisgah, to view from this wilderness a more goodly country to feed their hopes; for which way soever they turned their eyes (save upward to the heavens) they could have little solace or content in respect of any outward objects. For summer being done, all things stand upon them with a weatherbeaten face; and the whole country full of woods and thickets, represented a wild and savage hue. If they looked behind them, there was the mighty ocean which they had passed, and was now as a main bar and gulf to separate them from all the civil parts of the world. If it be

Their dismal condition.

The wild and savage land.

said they had a ship to succor them, it is true; but what heard they daily from the master and company? But that with speed they should look out a place with their shallop, where they would be at some near distance; for the season was such as he would not stir from thence till a safe harbor was discovered by them where they would be, and he might go without danger; and that victuals consumed apace, but he must and would keep sufficient for themselves and their retinue. Yea, it was muttered by some that if they got not a place in time, they would turn them and their goods ashore and leave them. Let it also be considered what weak hopes of supply and succor they left behind them, that might bear up their minds in this sad condition and trials they were under; and they could not but be very small. It is true, indeed, the affections and love of their brethren at Leyden was cordial and entire toward them, but they had little power to help them, or themselves; and how the case stood between them and the merchants at their coming away, hath already been declared. What could now sustain them but the spirit of God and his grace? Might not and ought not the children of these fathers rightly say: "Our fathers were Englishmen which came over this great ocean, and were ready to perish in this wilderness; but they cried unto the Lord, and he heard their voice and looked on their adversity, etc. Let them

Small hope of succor.

therefore praise the Lord, because he is good and his mercies endure for ever. Yea, let them which have been redeemed of the Lord, shew how he hath delivered them from the hand of the oppressor. When they wandered in the desert wilderness out of the way, and found no city to dwell in, both hungry and thirsty, their soul was overwhelmed in them. Let them confess before the Lord his loving-kindness, and his wonderful works before the sons of men." Their sole support.

[In 1622, English rivalry with Portugal in the East ends with the taking of Ormuz. In 1626, the Dutch make a settlement—New Amsterdam—on Manhattan Island. La Rochelle is forced to surrender in 1628; and a charter is granted to the Massachusetts Bay Company. Two years later, a thousand colonists, including Winthrop, the Governor, arrive in Massachusetts and found Boston and other towns. In 1632, the *Gazette de France* is founded by Renaudot. In 1632, Maryland is colonized by Lord Baltimore. In 1634, the Dutch take Curaçoa, which island becomes the headquarters of contraband trade with the Spanish mainland. The French occupy Martinique and Guadeloupe in that year. In 1634, the Dutch recapture Breda, Spain's last possession in Holland. In 1637, the use of a new liturgy in St. Giles' Church, Edinburgh, leads to a riot and a committee called

Spain loses her last possession in Holland.

The Tables is formed. In this year Descartes publishes his *Géometrie*, which begins the period of modern mathematics. In the next year Galileo issues his *Mathematical Discourses and Demonstrations*. In 1638, Rhode Island is bought from the Indians and colonized by refugees from Massachusetts, and the Swedes and Finns form a settlement—New Sweden—on the Delaware (this is annexed to the New Netherlands in 1655). In 1639, the English East India Company buys its first territorial possession in India, on which it builds Madras. In 1640, the Long Parliament meets and impeaches Laud and Strafford. Parliament abolishes the Star Chamber and High Commission Courts. In the next year, in England, money is raised by tonnage and poundage and by a tax on property and income. In 1642, Cinq-Mars plots to supplant Richelieu, is betrayed by Orleans and is executed with De Thou. Richelieu dies.]

Descartes and Galileo.

The Long Parliament meets.

THE WAR BETWEEN CHARLES I. AND THE PARLIAMENT

(A.D. 1642—1646)

THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY

IN August, 1642, the sword was at length drawn; and soon, in almost every shire of the kingdom, two hostile factions appeared in arms against each other. It is not easy to say which of the contending parties was at first the more formidable. The Houses commanded London and the counties round London, the fleet, the navigation of the Thames, and most of the large towns and seaports. They had at their disposal almost all the military stores of the kingdom, and were able to raise duties, both on goods imported from foreign countries, and on some important products of domestic industry. The King was ill provided with artillery and ammunition. The taxes which he laid on the rural districts occupied by his troops produced, it is probable, a sum far less than that which the Parliament drew from the city of London alone. He relied, indeed, chiefly, for pecuniary aid, on the munificence of his opulent

Resources of the Parliamentarians.

Devotion of the Cavaliers.

adherents. Many of these mortgaged their land, pawned their jewels, and broke up their silver chargers and christening bowls, in order to assist him. But experience has fully proved that the voluntary liberality of individuals, even in times of the greatest excitement, is a poor financial resource when compared with severe and methodical taxation, which presses on the willing and unwilling alike.

Charles, however, had one advantage, which, if he had used it well, would have more than compensated for the want of stores and money, and which, notwithstanding his mismanagement, gave him, during some months, a superiority in the war. His troops at first fought much better than those of the Parliament. Both armies, it is true, were almost entirely composed of men who had never seen a field of battle. Nevertheless, the difference was great. The Parliamentary ranks were filled with hirelings whom want and idleness had induced to enlist. Hampden's regiment was regarded as one of the best; and even Hampden's regiment was described by Cromwell as a mere rabble of tapsters and serving men out of place. The royal army, on the other hand, consisted in great part of gentlemen, high-spirited, ardent, accustomed to consider dishonor as more terrible than death, accustomed to fencing, to the use of firearms, to bold rid-

Contrast of the contending forces.

ing, and to manly and perilous sport, which has been well called the image of war. Such gentlemen, mounted on their favorite horses, and commanding little bands, composed of their younger brothers, grooms, game-keepers, and huntsmen, were, from the very first day on which they took the field, qualified to play their part with credit in a skirmish. The steadiness, the prompt obedience, the mechanical precision of movement, which are characteristic of the regular soldier, these gallant volunteers never attained. But they were at first opposed to enemies as undisciplined as themselves, and far less active, athletic, and daring. For a time, therefore, the Cavaliers were successful in almost every encounter.

The Houses had also been unfortunate in the choice of a general. The rank and wealth of the Earl of Essex made him one of the most important members of the Parliamentary party. He had borne arms on the Continent with credit, and, when the war began, had as high a military reputation as any man in the country. But it soon appeared that he was unfit for the post of commander-in-chief. He had little energy and no originality. The methodical tactics which he had learned in the war of the Palatinate did not save him from the disgrace of being surprised and baffled by such a captain as Rupert, who could claim no higher fame than that of an enterprising partisan.

Despicable leadership.

Lack of experience.

Nor were the officers who held the chief commissions under Essex qualified to supply what was wanting in him. For this, indeed, the Houses are scarcely to be blamed. In a country which had not, within the memory of the oldest person living, made war on a great scale by land, generals of tried skill and valor were not to be found. It was necessary, therefore, in the first instance, to trust untried men; and the preference was naturally given to men distinguished either by their station, or by the abilities which they had displayed in Parliament. In scarcely a single instance, however, was the selection fortunate. Neither the grandees nor the orators proved good soldiers. The Earl of Stamford, one of the greatest nobles of England, was routed by the Royalists at Stratton. Nathaniel Fiennes, inferior to none of his contemporaries in talents for civil business, disgraced himself by the pusillanimous surrender of Bristol. Indeed, of all the statesmen who at this juncture accepted high military commands,

Hampden alone shows ability.

Hampden alone appears to have carried into the camp the capacity and strength of mind which had made him eminent in politics.

When the war had lasted a year, the advantage was decidedly with the Royalists. They were victorious both in the western and in the northern counties. They had wrested Bristol, the second city in the kingdom, from the Parliament. They had won several battles,

and had not sustained a single serious or ignominious defeat. Among the Roundheads adversity had begun to produce dissension and discontent. The Parliament was kept in alarm, sometimes by plots, and sometimes by riots. It was thought necessary to fortify London against the royal army, and to hang some disaffected citizens at their own doors. Several of the most distinguished peers who had hitherto remained at Westminster fled to the court at Oxford; nor can it be doubted that, if the operations of the Cavaliers had, at this season, been directed by a sagacious and powerful mind, Charles would soon have marched in triumph to Whitehall.

Bright Royalist prospects.

But the King suffered the auspicious moment to pass away; and it never returned. In August, 1643, he sate down before the city of Gloucester. That city was defended by the inhabitants and by the garrison, with a determination such as had not, since the commencement of the war, been shown by the adherents of the Parliament. The emulation of London was excited. The trainbands of the city volunteered to march wherever their services might be required. A great force was speedily collected, and began to move westward. The siege of Gloucester was raised. The Royalists in every part of the Kingdom were disheartened: the spirit of the Parliamentary party revived; and the apostate lords, who had lately fled from Westminster to Ox-

The tide turns.

ford, hastened back from Oxford to Westminster.

And now a new alarming class of symptoms began to appear in the distempered body politic. There had been, from the first, in the Parliamentary party, some men whose minds were set on objects from which the majority of that party would have shrunk with horror. These men were, in religion, Independents. They conceived that every Christian congregation had, under Christ, supreme jurisdiction in things spiritual; that appeals to provincial and national synods were scarcely less unscriptural than appeals to the Court of Arches, or to the Vatican: and that Popery, Prelacy, and Presbyterianism were merely three forms of one great apostacy. In politics, they were, to use the phrase of their time, root and branch men, or, to use the kindred phrase of our own time, radicals. Not content with limiting the power of the monarch, they were desirous to erect a commonwealth on the ruins of the old English polity. At first they had been inconsiderable, both in numbers and in weight; but, before the war had lasted two years, they became, not indeed the largest, but the most powerful faction in the country. Some of the old Parliamentary leaders had been removed by death; and others had forfeited the public confidence. Pym had been borne, with princely honors, to a grave among the Plantagenets. Hampden

Rise of the Independents.

Death of Pym and Hampden.

had fallen, as became him, while vainly endeavoring, by his heroic example, to inspire his followers with courage to face the fiery cavalry of Rupert. Bedford had been untrue to the cause. Northumberland was known to be lukewarm. Essex and his lieutenants had shown little vigor and ability in the conduct of military operations. At such a conjuncture it was that the Independent party, ardent, resolute, and uncompromising, began to raise its head, both in the camp and in the Parliament.

Oliver Cromwell.

The soul of that party was Oliver Cromwell. Bred to peaceful occupations, he had, at more than forty years of age, accepted a commission in the Parliamentary army. No sooner had he become a soldier, than he discerned, with the keen glance of genius, what Essex, and men like Essex, with all their experience, were unable to perceive. He saw precisely where the strength of the Royalists lay, and by what means alone that strength could be overpowered. He saw that it was necessary to reconstruct the army of the Parliament. He saw, also, that there were abundant and excellent materials for the purpose; materials less showy, indeed, but more solid, than those of which the gallant squadrons of the King were composed. It was necessary to look for recruits who were not mere mercenaries,—for recruits of decent station and grave character, fearing God and zealous for

public liberty. With such men he filled his own regiment, and, while he subjected them to a discipline more rigid than had ever before been known in England, he administered to their intellectual and moral nature stimulants of fearful potency.

Battle of Marston Moor.

The events of the year 1644 fully proved the superiority of his abilities. In the south, where Essex held the command, the Parliamentary forces underwent a succession of shameful disasters; but in the north the victory of Marston Moor fully compensated for all that had been lost elsewhere. That victory was not a more serious blow to the Royalists than to the party which had hitherto been dominant at Westminster; for it was notorious that the day, disgracefully lost by the Presbyterians, had been retrieved by the energy of Cromwell, and by the steady valor of the warriors whom he had trained.

Essex is removed.

These events produced the self-denying ordinance and the new model of the army. Under decorous pretexts, and with every mark of respect, Essex and most of those who had held high posts under him were removed; and the conduct of the war was intrusted to very different hands. Fairfax, a brave soldier, but of mean understanding and irresolute temper, was the nominal lord-general of the forces; but Cromwell was their real head.

Cromwell made haste to organize the whole army on the same principles on which he had

organized his own regiment. As soon as this process was complete, the event of the war was decided. The Cavaliers had now to encounter natural courage equal to their own, enthusiasm stronger than their own, and discipline such as was utterly wanting to them. It soon became a proverb that the soldiers of Fairfax and Cromwell were men of a different breed from the soldiers of Essex. At Naseby took place the first great encounter between the Royalists and the remodelled army of the Houses. The victory of the Roundheads was complete and decisive. It was followed by other triumphs in rapid succession. In a few months, the authority of the Parliament was fully established over the whole kingdom. Charles fled to the Scots, and was by them, in a manner which did not much exalt their national character, delivered up to his English subjects.

Cromwell reorganizes the army.

While the event of the war was still doubtful, the Houses had put the primate to death, had interdicted, within the sphere of their authority, the use of the liturgy, and had required all men to subscribe that renowned instrument, known by the name of the Solemn League and Covenant. When the struggle was over, the work of innovation and revenge was pushed on with still greater ardor. The ecclesiastical polity of the kingdom was remodelled. Most of the old clergy were ejected from their benefices. Fines, often of ruinous amount, were laid on the Royalists,

Execution of Laud.

Fines and confiscations.

already impoverished by large aids furnished to the King. Many estates were confiscated. Many proscribed Cavaliers found it expedient to purchase, at an enormous cost, the protection of eminent members of the victorious party. Large domains belonging to the crown, to the bishops, and to the chapters, were seized, and either granted away or put up to auction. In consequence of these spoliations a great part of the soil of England was at once offered for sale. As money was scarce, as the market was glutted, as the title was insecure, and as the awe inspired by powerful bidders prevented free competition, the prices were often merely nominal. Thus many old and honorable families disappeared and were heard of no more; and many new men rose rapidly to affluence.

But, while the Houses were employing their authority thus, it suddenly passed out of their hands. It had been obtained by calling into existence a power which could not be controlled. In the summer of 1647, about twelve months after the last fortress of the Cavaliers had submitted to the Parliament, the Parliament was compelled to submit to its own soldiers.

The army is supreme.

Thirteen years followed during which England was, under various names and forms, really governed by the sword. Never, before that time, or since that time, was the civil power in our country subjected to military dictation.

[In 1643, Tasman, sent from Batavia by Van Diemen, Governor of the Dutch East India Company, discovers Tasmania and New Zealand. In 1644, the Manchus seize Pekin, depose the last Emperor of the Ming dynasty (which had reigned since 1368), and establish that of the Manchus. In 1647, Masaniello leads a revolt in Naples against the taxation of food. Masaniello, after being dictator for a week, is killed. In 1648, by the Treaty of Münster, the Dutch are recognized as independent of Spain.]

Dynasty of the Manchus established.

LA FRONDE

(A.D. 1648—1653)

CHARLOTTE M. YONGE

THE Court of France had for many years been acquiring a character peculiar to itself. François I. had first rendered it the centre of attraction to the kingdom, and by causing his nobles to bring their ladies had rendered it a scene of gallantry, often going beyond the bounds of propriety; Catherine de' Medici had been the first to degrade love into a means of intrigue; Henri IV. had by the sanction of his popular name made vice fashionable and no longer regarded as a disgrace; and though Louis XIII. was personally blameless in this respect, the evil had gone on increasing throughout his reign. After his death, the head of the court was Anne of Austria, the Queen Regent, a kind and graceful lady, devout and conscientious, but with little discretion or force of character, and though well-meaning, and anxious to make her sons good men, leaving their minds uncultivated, and not understanding how to reach their hearts by her religion. Helpless

Corrupt court morals.

and indolent in state affairs, she left them absolutely to the only man whom she could trust, Cardinal Mazarin, while her chief concern with the princes and nobility was to regulate the observance of the stately Spanish etiquette, which ruled that only duchesses of a certain rank might be seated on a stool in the royal presence, and would not allow the Queen to put on her own shift till it had been given to her by the noblest lady present. The exiled Prince of Wales was only allowed to sit on a stool when Anne of Austria visited his mother, Queen Henrietta; and these formalities were observed at a time when poverty had brought the English royal family so low that the young Princess Henrietta had sometimes to lie in bed for want of fire-wood.

Strict etiquette.

Precedence was one of the subjects most thought of among the ladies who thronged the French court, their minds full of intrigues of love and politics. The custom of marrying at an early age, without affection, added to the old troubadour fashion of choosing a lady-love, had led to the practice of almost every lady of any pretensions to beauty being followed by numerous lovers, and such was public opinion in those days that what would now be looked upon as ruin and disgrace, was then so lightly regarded that only persons of high principle withstood the trial. It was a period of great luxury in every respect; art and literature had made great progress, though in

Early marriages.

an affected style; and an imitation of classic taste, by leading further from Christian ideas, added to the spreading depravity. Wit was highly esteemed, and *bon-mots* and epigrams were the constant sport of the court and the weapons of the able as well as of the frivolous. There were great numbers of keen observers, who have left a crowd of cleverly written memoirs, each displaying brilliance without and dreariness within. Some great, and some good there were, both of men and women, and these shone out brightly; but frivolity and intrigue was the general character of the court. At the head of the ladies who here plotted and courted admiration was Anne Marie, the only daughter of Gaston, Duke of Orleans, by his first wife, the heiress of Montpensier. As inheriting these vast possessions, she was extremely rich, and as the first unmarried Princess in France, she was always called Mademoiselle, without any other title. She was high-spirited and proud, and with the most ridiculously high estimate of her own attractions. She coquetted with Charles II., but despised him as an exile, and alternated between designs of marrying her little cousin the King, the Emperor of Germany or the Prince de Condé (as the Duc d'Enghien had become in 1647, by the death of his father), hoping that either death or divorce would remove his poor innocent neglected wife, Claire Clémence.

Bon-mots and epigrams.

La grande Mademoiselle.

Condé's sister, Anne Génévière de Bourbon, was no less noted. She had the same striking features, softened into most brilliantly fair beauty, shaded by profuse flaxen hair, and enhanced by the utmost grace; and she had also his vehemence of disposition and high talent. She had such strong religious feelings as a young girl that she could not endure to enter on the temptations of the world, and when taken by force to her first ball, she wept all the time she was dressing, and wore sackcloth under her robes. But these impressions, though the seed remained by and by to exercise a saving influence, were soon obscured by the scene into which the poor girl was carried. She was given in marriage by her time-serving father to the Duke de Longueville, the descendant of Dunois, and since the fall of the Montmorencys, the premier French Duke, but he was a dull, heavy man, unfit to inspire attachment, and her marriage was the beginning of a career of the utmost levity and dissipation. She attracted crowds of lovers, and used her influence for political purposes, together with objects of her own, and to promote the interests of her brother, to whom she was ardently attached. Hers was a grand character thrown away, but there were multitudes of other women, whose intrigues were no less mischievous, and whose sole purpose was selfish vanity, and desire of importance.

Anne de Bourbon.

She marries the Duke de Longueville.

A court of so much pomp, with a foreign war to support, could not fail to require great sums to meet its expenses, and the Queen and Cardinal raised them by levying taxes and contributions without regard to the rights and privileges of the magistracy. The Parliament of Paris, whose part it was to register the royal decrees, remonstrated, and resisted, and though often baffled returned to the charge with a pertinacity that caused it to be compared to the boys playing in the streets with a sling, or *fronde*, who, often as they were dispersed by the police, returned to their sport undaunted. The name was taken up, and persons in opposition to the court were called Frondeurs.

Illegal taxation.

The Frondeurs.

Growing angry, Anne of Austria resolved to seize one of the hostile members of the Parisian Parliament, and imprison him, and though poor Queen Henrietta warned her of the consequence of the attempt on the five members at Westminster, she persisted. The effect was that the citizens rose in tumult, barricaded the streets, and were with great difficulty pacified for the night by Jean Paul de Gondy, the coadjutor or assistant of the Archbishop of Paris. He was a son of the ducal house of De Retz, very clever, and a great intriguer, with very little principle, but highly popular at Paris, where Mazarin was equally hated and despised.

The Prince de Condé stood in a manner

between the parties. He could not bear to see the Sicilian, as he called Mazarin, interfere with the rights of Frenchmen, yet he would not join the Frondeurs, because he said, "My name is Louis de Bourbon, and I will not peril the crown." He, therefore, advised the Queen to quit Paris in secret, undertaking to blockade the town with his army, and bring the citizens to submission; and accordingly the whole royal family went off at night, and arrived at the empty palace of St. Germain, where they had to sleep on straw mattresses, on the floor. The only princess who remained behind was Condé's own sister, Madame de Longueville, who had been led by her clever and unscrupulous lover, the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, to become a violent Frondeuse, and with the Duchess de Bouillon encouraged the people to revolt. Each lady stood in a window, with her hair artfully dishevelled, and one of her children in her arms, appealing to the populace for protection, until they had stirred them up to the utmost enthusiasm. During the siege of Paris, the second son of the Duchess de Longueville was born, and was christened in the Cathedral of Notre Dame, the whole city of Paris being his godmother, represented by her *echevins,* or sheriffs. The siege was not effective, for Condé had too small an army to be able to cut off the supplies, and the price of bread never greatly rose. Turenne, who

Condé's position.

Paris in revolt.

was returning with the rest of the forces from Germany, took the side of the Fronde, and the court felt obliged to make peace. The Parliament readily accepted the terms offered, and by the mediation of Condé the kingdom was pacified.

Condé was soon found to presume too much on the part he had played. Arrogant and haughty, he showed his contempt for the double-dealing, cringing Mazarin; and the Queen and Cardinal began to fear that he would take all the power to himself. Mazarin therefore resolved on his arrest, and took measures by which he was enabled suddenly and secretly to capture him, with his brother, the Prince de Conti, and the Duke de Longueville, and imprison them at once in the Castle of Vincennes. Condé showed dignified coolness under this shameful treatment, and, while his fellow prisoners drooped and lamented themselves, he read, gardened, played at battledore, talked and laughed gayly. The Duke and Duchess de Bouillon were also imprisoned. Condé's mother, the last of the Montmorencys, died of grief; but the Duchess de Longueville hastened to Normandy, and went from city to city, fearless of tempest or fatigue, trying to raise the people to liberate the prisoners, but failing, and finding that Mazarin had given orders for her arrest, she escaped in disguise to Holland. None showed such energy and affection as Condé's wife, whom

Conde is arrested.

His sister's devotion.

he had never treated with kindness, and who, in her quietness and humility, had hitherto been overlooked and scorned. With her little son of seven years old, she travelled in disguise to Bordeaux, and there prevailed on the people to rise in her husband's behalf, showing the utmost courage, once actually rushing under fire herself. "Who would have told me," said Condé, "that my wife would be waging war, while I was watering pinks!" His wife's heroism.

The Princess de Condé held out the town of Bordeaux for four months, and though at last obliged to surrender to the royal forces, she obtained favorable terms. Turenne had, also, on hearing of the captivity of his brother, united his army with the Spaniards, in the Netherlands, and though defeated at Rethel, was extremely formidable. It was impossible to permit the first Princes of the Blood to be imprisoned, and the greatest General in the country to be a rebel for the sake of an Italian minister. The Coadjutor de Gondy persuaded Gaston, Duke of Orleans, to place himself at the head of the Parliament, and insist on the liberation of the Princes and the dismissal of the Cardinal. So reluctant was Anne of Austria, that the Parisians suspected her of intending again to steal away her son, and one night rose in tumult, which could not be pacified till their chiefs had seen the Queen in bed, and the young King fast asleep. She was obliged to yield consent to the liberation of the Liberation of the princes.

princes, and they arrived at Paris amid the acclamations of the populace, while Mazarin was forced to leave the country, but he still corresponded with the Queen, and by his intrigues contrived to sow distrust and suspicion among the princes. Condé's own haughty demeanor gave offence, and he soon quarrelled with both Gaston and Gondy. He accused Gondy, before the Parliament, of calumniating him; the Coadjutor replied that he at least had never broken his word, and Condé, affronted, laid his hand on his sword. Four thousand swords were at once drawn by his partisans, but he forbore, and the Coadjutor was allowed to escape, though the Duke de la Rochefoucauld was so much disposed to put an end to his intrigues, that, catching him in the doorway, he shut the two folding doors on him, letting the iron bar fall, so as to hold him by the neck, and nearly strangle him.

Mazarin forced to leave France.

After this violent scene, Condé found that the court were resolved on his captivity or death, and therefore determined to take up arms. Absenting himself from Parliament on the day when the King, having attained his sixteenth year, was declared of age, he proceeded to the south of France, and there raised an army to free the King from his ill advisers. His rebellion occasioned the immediate recall of Mazarin, who had been reconciled with Turenne, and placed him at the head of the royal force. The Coadjutor, who had just

Conde takes arms.

been made a cardinal, and had taken his family title of De Retz, had great influence with Gaston of Orleans, and persuaded him to stand neutral between the court and Condé. By this means Gaston placed his own city of Orleans in danger of being occupied by the royal troops, and alarmed on its account, yet too timid to take the decided measure of defending it himself, he allowed his daughter, Anne Marie, to go thither as its champion. Mademoiselle was delighted with the frolic; she set off with her ladies, and, finding some difficulty in having the gates opened to her, she climbed over a broken part of the rampart, went up a ladder, and entered the town, where she awoke such enthusiasm among the citizens, that they would not admit the royal troops, who marched on, while she regarded herself as a second Maid of Orleans.

Mademoiselle at Orleans.

The manœuvres of Turenne and Condé occupied some months, during which each showed great powers of generalship. Their contest came to a crisis at the wretched battle of St. Antoine, so called because held in the parish of that name in the suburbs of Paris. To distinguish the two armies of fellow-countrymen, Condé's men each wore a whisp of straw in their hats, while Turenne's troops were marked by pieces of paper. Condé's army was broken, his best friends slain or wounded, and though he was so active that Turenne said of him, "I did not see one Prince

Battle of St. Antoine.

de Condé, I saw twelve!" in so many places did he seem to be at once, he could not retrieve the day, nor secure a retreat. The gates of Paris were shut behind him, and he must have been cut off but for Mademoiselle, who, after vainly trying to prevail on her father to intercede with the authorities to admit the shattered troops, hurried herself to the Governor of Paris, and by actually threatening to tear out his beard, or to stir up the populace, she forced from him an order to open the gate of St. Antoine. Going herself to a house near, she saw her commands obeyed, and Condé's gentlemen, desperately wounded, borne in by the few who were unhurt; and at length came Condé himself, covered with dust and blood, holding his naked sword, for he had lost the scabbard, and throwing himself into a chair, he burst into tears, calling himself a man in despair, who had lost all his friends.

Prince de Conde's activity.

Conde's despair.

It was the ruin of his cause, and he acted most shamefully by the city which had sheltered him, inciting the mob to rise and murder a number of moderate men who would not join his party. The outrage did him no service, and vexation brought on a severe fever, during which his party declined further. Mazarin, seeing that to yield to the hatred of the Parliament for the present, was the only way to restore tranquillity, quietly left France, and the Parliament at once came to terms with

the royal family. Condé, too proud to ask pardon, became a deserter, and, like his ancestor, the Constable de Bourbon, hurried to seek revenge for the injuries he had suffered, by fighting in the service of Spain.

Louis XIV. returned to his capital with greater power than ever over the finances, and was received with delight, but he never forgot the tumults which he had there witnessed, and in future he seldom inhabited Paris. Louis returns to his capital.

Cardinal de Retz was arrested, and imprisoned at Nantes, whence he managed to escape by the window, and though he dislocated his shoulder in falling to the ground, he effected his retreat from France, and carried his intrigues to Rome.

Mazarin stayed away till the people had somewhat forgotten their hatred of him, and then coming back openly resumed the ministry which he had directed all the time, and again ruled France, the King, and his mother. So ended the Fronde, a miserable period of intrigue and selfishness, when the Parliament of Paris, struggling against the usurpations of a foreigner, only became linked with the cabals of violent and self-interested men, and thus lost the rights they had before possessed. Mazarin finished what Richelieu had begun, and France was absolutely under the sovereign's authority. Mazarin finishes Richelieu's work.

[In 1649, Charles I. of England is executed and Cromwell invades Ireland (where Charles II. has been proclaimed), storming Drogheda and Wexford. In 1651, the Navigation Act is passed in England. The single veto is first used in Poland in 1652. In that year, the Dutch East India Company erect a fort and hospital for sailors and soldiers in Table Bay, Cape of Good Hope. In 1655, Blake destroys the Barbary fleet; the Duke of Savoy attacks the Vaudois and Cromwell forces Mazarin to stop the persecution; Penn and Venables seize Jamaica, to which colonists come from Barbadoes and St. Kitts; the Chinese Government, determined to check the advance of Russia, destroys her forts on the Amur, built this year. In 1657, Aurungzebe deposes his father and becomes Emperor of India. In 1661, the persecution of the Covenanters in Scotland begins. In 1663, Clarendon, Monk, Shaftesbury and others found the Colony of Carolina. In 1664, the Portuguese secure independence with French aid at the battle of Villa Viciosa. In 1668, the Hansa Diet meets for the last time; the Turks capture Crete after a twenty years' war; and South Carolina is founded. In 1670, a mob in Holland murders the De Witts.]

Charles I. is executed.

Colony of Carolina founded.

THE EXCLUSION BILL AND HABEAS CORPUS ACT

(A.D. 1679)

DAVID HUME

IT soon appeared that Charles had entertained a just opinion of the dispositions of the House. So much were the Commons actuated by the cabals of Shaftesbury and other malcontents; such violent antipathy prevailed against Popery that the King's concessions, though much more important than could reasonably have been expected, were not embraced. A bill was brought in for the total exclusion of the Duke from the crown of England and Ireland. It was there declared that the sovereignty of these kingdoms, upon the King's death or resignation, should devolve to the persons next in succession after the Duke; that all acts of royalty which that Prince should afterward perform should not only be void, but be deemed treason; that if he so much as entered any of these dominions, he should be deemed guilty of the same offence; and that all who supported his title should be punished as rebels and traitors. This important bill, which implied ban-

Bill of exclusion.

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ishment as well as exclusion, passed the lower House by a majority of seventy-nine.

Other securities to liberty.

The Commons were not so wholly employed about the exclusion bill as to overlook all other securities to liberty. The country party, during all the last Parliament, had much exclaimed against the bribery and corruption of the members; and the same reproach had been renewed against the present Parliament. An inquiry was made into a complaint which was so dangerous to the honor of that assembly, but very little foundation was found for it. Sir Stephen Fox, who was the paymaster, confessed to the House that nine members received pensions to the amount of three thousand four hundred pounds: and after a rigorous inquiry by a secret committee, eight more pensioners were discovered. A sum also, about twelve thousand pounds, had been occasionally given or lent to others. The writers of that age pretend that Clifford and Danby had adopted opposite maxims with regard to pecuniary influence. The former endeavored to gain the leaders and orators of the House, and deemed the others of no consequence. The latter thought it sufficient to gain a majority, however composed. It is likely that the means, rather than the intention, were wanting to both these ministers.

Pensions and bribes.

Pensions and bribes, though it be difficult entirely to exclude them, are dangerous expedients for government; and can not be too

carefully guarded against, nor too vehemently decried by every one who has a regard to the virtue and liberty of a nation. The influence, however, which the crown acquires from the disposal of places, honors, and preferments, is to be esteemed of a different nature. This engine of power may become too forcible, but it can not altogether be abolished, without the total destruction of monarchy, and even of all regular authority. But the Commons at this time were so jealous of the crown that they brought in a bill, which was twice read, excluding from the Lower House all who possessed any lucrative office.

Commons jealous of the crown.

The standing army, and the King's guards, were by the Commons voted to be illegal: a new pretension, it must be confessed; but necessary for the full security of liberty and a limited constitution.

Arbitrary imprisonment is a grievance which, in some degree, has place almost in every government, except in that of Great Britain; and our absolute security from it we owe chiefly to the present Parliament, a merit which makes some atonement for the faction and violence into which their prejudices had, in other particulars, betrayed them. The great charter had laid the foundation of this valuable part of liberty; the petition of right had renewed and extended it; but some provisions were still wanting to render it complete, and prevent all evasion or delay from

The petition of right.

ministers and judges. The act of *habeas corpus,* which passed this session, served these purposes. By this act it was prohibited to send any one to a prison beyond sea. No judge, under severe penalties, must refuse to any prisoner a writ of *habeas corpus,* by which the jailer was directed to produce in court the body of the prisoner (whence the writ has its name), and to certify the cause of his detainer and imprisonment. If the jail lie within twenty miles of the judge, the writ must be obeyed in three days; and so proportionably for greater distances: every prisoner must be indicted the first term after his commitment, and brought to trial in the subsequent term. And no man, after being enlarged by order of court, can be recommitted for the same offence. This law seems necessary for the protection of liberty in a mixed monarchy; and as it has not place in any other form of government, this consideration alone may induce us to prefer our present constitution to all others. It must, however, be confessed that there is some difficulty to reconcile with such extreme liberty the full security and the regular police of a state, especially the police of great cities. It may also be doubted whether the low state of the public revenue in this period, and of the military power, did not still render some discretionary authority in the crown necessary to the support of government.

Habeas Corpus bill.

Its imperfections.

[In 1681, Charles XI., of Sweden, becomes an absolute monarch, expels the nobles and organizes an army and navy; William Penn obtains Delaware Bay and adjacent lands and founds Pennsylvania; La Salle sails down the Mississippi and takes possession of lands in the name of Louis,—Louisiana.]

William Penn founds Pennsylvania.

THE SIEGE OF VIENNA

(A.D. 1683)

CHARLOTTE M. YONGE

THE House of Austria in Germany was almost as exhausted as it was in Spain, and it was not surprising, for seldom had fresh connections been made to recruit either of the worn-out hypochondriacal races; but archduchesses and infantas had been exchanged again and again as queens and empresses. The present Emperor Leopold was a little, dark, insignificant man, excessively shy and reserved, and with no taste for anything but music, in which he performed so well, that a musician once said to him, "What a pity your Majesty is not a fiddler!" He had begun, as usual, by marrying the Infanta Margarita of Spain, daughter to his aunt Mariana, but fortunately she had no son, and died early. A second wife died of over-fatigue in the chase, and he chose for the third Eleonore Magdalene of Neuburg, one of the best princesses who ever reigned. She was full of high spirit, and of strong religious feeling, hating all the trappings of rank, and dreading the

The House of Austria.

exalted station intended for her, because she would then no longer ride spirited horses to the chase, and because she could not become a Carmelite nun. She took long walks in the summer sun, in hopes that tanned cheeks would cause her to be rejected, but in vain; she was selected as Empress, and thenceforth she applied herself in the most admirable manner to fulfil her duties. She conformed in everything to the tastes of her husband, going with him to the opera with a book of devotions in her hand bound like the words of the opera, translating the best French books into German for him, and even preparing delicate dishes for him with her own hands, while she lived on the hardest fare. All her spare time was spent in charity, austerity, and devotion, and she was so bent on working for the poor, that she knitted for them even as she walked to church. The Empress Eleonore.

Leopold's devotion took the ordinary Austrian turn of persecuting the Protestants. A disturbance in Hungary afforded him an excuse for declaring, in 1673, that the Magyars had forfeited their freedom, whereupon he imprisoned many of the nobles, pronounced the kingdom hereditary instead of elective, and instituted courts for trying causes of heresy. Two hundred and fifty Lutheran pastors were seized, and when it was found that their constancy under suffering only strengthened their people, they were put out of sight by be- Persecution of the Magyars.

ing sold for fifty crowns apiece to work in the galleys at Naples; but happily the Dutch Admiral, De Ruyter, when protecting the Bay of Naples from the French, was able to obtain their liberty, and, receiving them on board his vessels, treated them with great respect and bounty.

This tyranny stirred up a far more dangerous revolt, under the leadership of Count Emmerich Tekeli, who, after some years of partisan warfare, obtained the aid of the Turks. Mahommed IV., who was then Sultan, had many scruples on breaking the truce with Germany, but Louis XIV., who only sought to weaken the Emperor, overcame his doubts, and, in 1682, he sent a Pacha to create Tekeli Prince of Upper Hungary by delivering to him a sword, a vest, and a standard.

The Turks and the rebels.

The next year the Grand Vizier, Kara Mustafa, at the head of 200,000 men, broke into Hungary, and overran the whole country, advancing into Austria up to the very gates of the capital. Leopold and his family took flight, the Empress Eleonore encouraging and comforting her husband; but she was forced to be left at Lintz, where she gave birth to a son, whose face she vowed not to look upon until she should hear that the infidel was driven back.

Invasion of Hungary.

Kara Mustafa advanced unopposed, slaughtering all the Christian inhabitants, and set up his camp before Vienna, which was defended

Siege of Vienna.

IN THE CABIN OF THE "MAYFLOWER"

From the painting by White

—Vol. V, page 1367

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by the Governor, Count Stahremberg, and the good Bishop Kollonitsch, who had been a knight of Malta, with a small, though gallant, garrison; and the townspeople resolved to hold out to the last extremity, while the Duke of Lorraine hovered near with such an army as the German resources could collect, and in it the young French fugitive princes, who here made their first campaign.

The sole hope of the besieged city lay in a quarter whence little aid had hitherto come, in the one great man who for his own lifetime rendered Poland illustrious.

In 1674, the Poles had elected as their king John Sobieski, a nobleman of their own country, who had already shown great talents both in war and policy. Between his election and his coronation, he drove back the Turks who were threatening the country, and his firmness and valor so gained the hearts of his subjects, that he had brought the army into a state of discipline that made the daring courage of the Poles more efficient than ever before. John Sobieski.

Sobieski had, before his elevation to the throne, married a French lady, Marie Casimire de la Grange, an attached wife, but a vain, meddling woman. He was at first inclined to be the ally of Louis XIV., but Marie impelled him to make demands for her French relatives which Louis would not grant; and when she travelled into France to show off her grandeur, she claimed to be treated like

Antagonism to France.

Henrietta Maria of England, whereupon Louis hinted to her that an elective queen was not the same as a hereditary one. She never forgave the affront, and from that time Sobieski was the enemy of Louis XIV. and the friend of Leopold.

A treaty of mutual assistance had been drawn up between Austria and Poland, and in the dire extremity of Vienna the Emperor and Duke of Lorraine wrote letter after letter, begging the King to haste to their relief. The siege had lasted three months, and provisions had become fearfully scarce, cats and other refuse were eaten, and the Viennese watched earnestly for rescue; but, on the other hand, the Turkish army was no less weary of the blockade, and, looking toward the hills, the soldiers exclaimed, "O ye infidels, if ye will not come yourselves, let us at least see your crests over the hills; for once seen, the siege will be over, and we shall be released."

Relief in sight.

The discontent of his troops caused Kara Mustafa to risk an assault, and though it was beaten off, such was the havoc made in the garrison, and so deadly the fire of the Turks, that the citizens had believed the hour of their ruin was come, when, as night came on, they beheld five rockets burst from the summit of the Kahlenberg hill. It was the appointed signal that rescue was at hand, and in two days more cannon were booming on the heights. Stahremberg sent a messenger at night, who

swam the Danube with a letter to the Duke of Lorraine bearing these few words, "No time to be lost! No time, indeed, to be lost!"

Sobieski and the Duke of Lorraine were there, with their forces united with those of all Germany. In the spirit of a crusader, Sobieski harangued his troops, and led them down the mountain side, to burst upon the Othman force. Kara Mustafa soon saw that resistance was vain, and after causing every captive to be slaughtered, as well as all the Turkish women who could not be conveyed away, he took flight with his whole army, who fought desperately as they fled. An immense booty fell into the hands of the conquerors, and Sobieski wrote to his wife, "You will not meet me with the reproach of the Tartar wives: You are no man, you come back without booty." Jewels of every kind abounded, and stores both of ammunition and provisions, coffee among the rest in such quantities that it became a popular drink, and Stahremberg's faithful messenger was the first master of a coffee-house in Christian Europe. The good Bishop Kollonitsch found booty of another kind, five hundred infants, whose mothers had perished in the massacre, and whom he undertook to support and bring up at his own charge.

Flight of the Turks.

Sobieski entered Vienna the next day, in the midst of the ecstasies of the rescued people, who kissed his garments and his horse as

Vienna in ecstasies.

he rode in, and called him father and deliverer; but he did not meet with the like gratitude from their superiors; Leopold had no generosity, and at once became afraid of the preserver of his capital, ordered the Duke of Lorraine to treat him coldly, and though he returned to Vienna three days after the victory, he would not meet Sobieski there. He entered, walking on foot with a taper in his hand, and went to the cathedral at once, but he forgot all thankfulness to the human means of his deliverance.

The Emperor's ungenerous conduct.

He delayed seeing Sobieski till the ceremonies of the meeting should be settled. "How should the Emperor meet the King of Poland?" he said. "With open arms," replied the Duke of Lorraine; but Leopold could not make up his mind to let an elective King sit on his right hand, and, therefore, made endless excuses, till Sobieski, guessing the cause, proposed to obviate the difficulty by meeting him on horseback before the camp.

This was done, and the Emperor, stiff, chill, and haughty, rode out to meet the great King, and spoke a few words of thanks in Latin. With grave dignity, Sobieski replied in the same tongue, "I am glad, sir, to have rendered you this small service;" then, as his son approached, he presented him, saying, "This is a prince, whom I am rearing for the service of Christendom." Young James Sobieski bowed, but the Emperor only made a

Sobieski's noble nature.

movement with his head, without even raising his hand to his hat. Sobieski was in absolute consternation at meeting with such treatment, and the Poles complained loudly of the discourtesy and ingratitude that they experienced in matters of more importance, for provisions were not supplied, the sick were not allowed to be removed from the camp, and the dead were denied burial in the cemeteries. The Duke of Lorraine and the other German princes were equally ill-treated. Eugene, however, was made Colonel of a regiment, and Stahremberg received the order of the Golden Fleece and the rank of Field Marshal. Still, for the sake of his oath to aid the Emperor, and for the cause of Christendom, Sobieski did not desert the imperial army, and the retreat of the Turks was followed up to the Danube. Once the Poles, having pushed too far ahead, were driven back, and met with severe loss; Sobieski himself, who had fought in the rear, was left with only six men near him, and had to ride for his life, and when he reached the German troops, was so exhausted that he was obliged to lie panting on a heap of straw.

Poles complain of discourtesy and ingratitude.

Five days after, however, the united armies gained a great victory at Gran, which led to the recovery of that city, after it had been in the hands of the infidel for eighty years. The Sultan, who had prepared the greatest rejoicings for the capture of Vienna, with fires

Capture of Gran.

where effigies of the Pope and Emperor were to be burned, was so enraged at the failure, that the Mufti hardly withheld him from a general massacre of his Christian subjects, and, on the news of the defeat at Gran, he sent a bowstring as a signal for the execution of Kara Mustafa. The Vizier, consoling himself by the words of the Koran, which declared it glorious to die by the will of the Prince of the Faithful, prostrated himself at the tidings, kissed the messenger, gave up his seal to the Aga of the Janissaries, and submitted with Turkish dignity.

Death of Kara Mustafa.

[In 1683, Aurungzebe begins his wars in Southern India with the Mahrattas. In 1684, the Pope negotiates a Holy League between the Emperor and Venice against the Turks. In 1685, Charles II. of England dies and is succeeded by James II. Monmouth enters Taunton with 5,000 men. He is routed at Sedgmoor and soon captured and executed. Argyle, returning from exile in Holland, attempts to raise an insurrection, but is captured and executed. In 1685, also, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes is published and the Huguenots emigrate.]

Monmouth and Argyle executed.

REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES

(A.D. 1685)

FRANCOIS MARIE AROUET DE VOLTAIRE

LOUIS XIV., who, upon seizing Strasburg in 1681, engaged to protect Lutheranism, might have acted in the same manner with respect to Calvinism, and left it to time to abolish it insensibly; as it every day diminishes the number of Lutherans in Alsace. Could it be imagined that in forcing a great number of his subjects to abandon their religion, he would not lose many more, who, in spite of all his edicts and guards, would find means to withdraw themselves from a violence which they termed a horrible persecution? Why should a million of people be compelled to hate a name so dear and precious, and to which both Protestants and Catholics, Frenchmen and strangers, had agreed to join the epithet of Great? Policy itself seemed to require a toleration of the Calvinists, in order to oppose them to the continual pretensions of the court of Rome. The King about this very time had openly quarrelled with Innocent II., the avowed enemy

Mistakes of Louis XIV. regarding Calvinism.

of France. But Louis XIV., equally attached to the interests of his religion and his grandeur, was resolved to humble the Pope with one hand, and crush Calvinism with the other.

His vanity.

He considered these two enterprises as productive of that lustre of glory of which he was in all things fond, even to idolatry. The bishops, the intendants, the whole council made him believe that the bare appearance of his troops was sufficient to complete what his liberalities and missions had already begun. He thought he did no more than exert his authority; but those to whom that authority was committed proceeded with extreme rigor.

The Dragonade.

Toward the end of the year 1684, and in the beginning of 1685, when Louis XIV., still powerfully armed, had nothing to apprehend from any of his neighbors, troops were sent into all the cities and castles where the Protestants were most numerous; and as the dragoons, who at that time were very ill disciplined, committed the greatest excesses, this execution obtained the name of the Dragonade.

The frontiers were guarded with all possible care to prevent the flight of those who were designed to be reunited to the Church. It was a kind of chase carried on within a large inclosure.

A bishop, an intendant, a sub-delegate, a curate, or some other person in authority, marched at the head of the soldiers. The

principal Calvinist families were assembled, those especially who were judged most likely to submit. They renounced their religion in the name of the rest; and such as continued obstinate were given up to the mercy of the soldiers, who had every license except that of killing: yet many were treated with so much cruelty as to die soon after of the usage they had received. The posterity of the refugees in foreign countries still exclaim against this persecution of their fathers, comparing it to the most violent the Church sustained in the primitive ages of Christianity.

Cruelties inflicted upon the Huguenots.

It afforded a strange contrast to behold such cruel and merciless orders issued from the bosom of a voluptuous court, eminent for softness of manners, the graces and all the endearing charms of social life. The inflexible character of the Marquis de Louvois appears conspicuous in this whole affair, and points out to our observation the same genius which had proposed to bury Holland under the waves and afterward destroyed the Palatinate with fire and sword. There are still extant several letters under his own hand, dated in the year 1685, and conceived in these terms: "It is his Majesty's pleasure that such as refuse to conform to his religion be proceeded against with the utmost rigor, and that not the least indulgence be shown to those who affect the foolish glory of being the last to comply."

The Marquis de Louvois.

Paris was not exposed to these vexations: the cries of the sufferers would have made themselves heard too near the throne.

While the churches of the Reformed were thus demolished in all parts, and abjurations were demanded in the provinces with an armed force, the Edict of Nantes was at last revoked in the month of October, 1685, which completed the ruin of the Protestant cause, already weakened and undermined on all sides.

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

The chamber of the Edict had been suppressed some time before, and the Calvinist counsellors in Parliament were ordered to resign their places. Arrets of council appeared, one upon the neck of another, to extirpate the remains of the proscribed religion. That which proved the most fatal was the order for seizing the children of the pretended Reformed and putting them into the hands of their nearest Catholic relations; an order against which the voice of nature cried so loudly that it was never put into execution.

The order for seizing children.

But in this celebrated Edict, which revoked that of Nantes, the way was paved to an event directly contrary to what was intended. The government aimed at reuniting the Calvinists to the national church. Gourville, a man of a clear and piercing judgment, counselled Louvois, as is well known, to imprison all the ministers and release only such as, being gained by secret pensions, would

agree to abjure in public, and might thereby contribute more to the projected reunion than the missionaries and soldiers. But instead of following this politic advice, an edict appeared, ordering all the ministers who refused to renounce their religion to quit the realm in fifteen days. It was blindness to imagine that in driving away the pastors, a great part of the flock would not follow. It was presuming unreasonably upon power, and argued very little knowledge of mankind, to believe that so many ulcerated hearts, so many imaginations warmed with the idea of martyrdom, especially in the southern parts of France, would not run all hazards to go and publish their constancy and the glory of their exile among strangers, when so many nations, envious of the fortune of Louis XIV., were ready with open arms to receive them.

Banishment of the ministers.

The old Chancellor Tellier, when he signed the Edict, cried with an air of joy: *"Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine, quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum."* He did not imagine that what he then signed would be productive of the greatest mischief to France.

Louvois, his son, no less deceived himself in believing that a bare order was sufficient for the guard of the frontiers, and to prevent the escape of such as thought their duty obliged them to fly. Industry, when employed to elude the law, always proves an overmatch for authority. The gaining over some few of the

Flight of the Huguenots.

France's great losses.

guards sufficed for the escape of a multitude of refugees. Near fifty thousand families, within the space of three years, left the kingdom, and were afterward followed by others, who introduced their arts, manufactures and riches among strangers. Almost all the north of Germany, a country hitherto rude and void of industry, received a new face from the multitudes of refugees transplanted thither, who peopled entire cities. A part of the suburbs of London was peopled entirely with French manufacturers in silk; others carried thither the art of making crystal in perfection, which was about this time lost in France. The gold which the refugees brought with them is still very frequently to be met with in Germany. Thus France lost about five hundred thousand inhabitants, a prodigious quantity of specie, and, above all, the arts with which her enemies enriched themselves. Holland gained excellent officers and soldiers. The Prince of Orange had entire regiments of refugees. Some settled even at the Cape of Good Hope. The nephew of the celebrated Du Quêne, Lieutenant-General of the Marine, founded a colony at that extremity of the globe.

Rigorous measures.

It was to no purpose to fill the prisons and galleys with those who had been caught endeavoring to make their escape. What could be done with such a multitude of wretches, whom the hardships they suffered served only

to confirm in their belief? How could persons bred to the law, or infirm old men, be made to serve in the galleys? Some hundreds embarked for America. At last the council imagined that, by leaving the frontiers open, desertions would become less frequent, as men would no longer be instigated by the secret pleasure of disobeying. But this was found to be a mistake; and, after leaving the passages open, guards were a second time planted to no purpose.

The frontiers left open.

After demolishing all the churches of the Reformed, and banishing the pastors, the great point was to retain in the Roman communion such as through persuasion or fear had quitted their religion. There were about four hundred thousand of these in the kingdom who were obliged to go to mass and communicate. Some who, after embracing the Catholic religion, rejected the host, were sentenced to be burned alive. The bodies of such as refused to receive the sacraments at their death, were drawn upon a hurdle and denied Christian burial.

Severe persecutions.

Persecution never fails to make proselytes, especially when it is exerted against a spirit of enthusiasm. The Calvinists assembled to sing their hymns, though the penalty of death was denounced against all who should be found at such assemblies. Ministers returning into the kingdom were likewise to suffer death, and a reward of five thousand five hun-

Measures against ministers.

dred livres was to be given to whosoever should inform against them. Several returned, who were either hanged or broke upon the wheel.

The sect, apparently crushed, still subsisted.

The sect, though crushed in appearance, still subsisted. It vainly flattered itself, in the war of 1689, that King William, who had dethroned his father-in-law for being a Catholic, would support Calvinism in France. But in the war of 1701, fanaticism produced a rebellion in Languedoc.

THE TRIAL OF THE SEVEN BISHOPS

(A.D. 1688)

THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY

THIS scandalous apostasy could not but heighten the interest with which the nation looked forward to the day when the fate of the seven brave confessors of the English Church was to be decided. To pack a jury was now the great object of the King. The crown lawyers were ordered to make strict inquiry as to the sentiments of the persons who were registered in the freeholders' book. Sir Samuel Astry, clerk of the Crown, whose duty it was, in cases of this description, to select the names, was summoned to the palace, and had an interview with James in the presence of the chancellor. Sir Samuel seems to have done his best. For, among the forty-eight persons whom he nominated, were said to be several servants of the King, and several Roman Catholics. But as the counsel for the bishops had a right to strike off twelve, these persons were removed. The crown lawyers also struck off twelve. The list was thus reduced to twenty-four. The first twelve who

Selection of the jury.

answered to their names were to try the issue.

On the twenty-ninth of June, Westminster Hall, Old and New Palace Yard, and all the neighboring streets to a great distance, were thronged with people. Such an auditory had never before, and has never since, been assembled in the court of King's Bench. Thirty-five peers of the realm were counted in the crowd.

Popular interest in the trial.

All the four judges of the court were on the bench. Wright, who presided, had been raised to his high place over the heads of many abler and more learned men solely on account of his unscrupulous servility. Allybone was a Papist, and owed his situation to that dispensing power, the legality of which was now in question. Holloway had hitherto been a serviceable tool of the government. Even Powell, whose character for honesty stood high, had borne a part in some proceedings which it is impossible to defend.

The government's counsel.

The counsel were by no means fairly matched. The government had required from its law officers services so odious and disgraceful that all the ablest jurists and advocates of the Tory party had, one after another, refused to comply, and had been dismissed from their employments. Sir Thomas Powis, the Attorney-General, was scarcely of the third rank in his profession. Sir William Williams, the Solicitor-General, had quick parts and daunt-

less courage; but he wanted discretion; he loved wrangling; he had no command over his temper; and he was hated and despised by all political parties. The most conspicuous assistants of the attorney and solicitor were Sergeant Trinder, a Roman Catholic, and Sir Bartholomew Shower, Recorder of London, who had some legal learning, but whose fulsome apologies and endless repetitions were the jest of Westminster Hall.

The counsel for the defence.

On the other side were arrayed almost all the eminent forensic talents of the age. Sawyer and Finch, who, at the time of the accession of James, had been attorney and solicitor-general, and who, during the persecution of the Whigs in the late reign, had served the crown with but too much vehemence and success, were of counsel for the defendants. With them were joined two persons who, since age had diminished the activity of Maynard, were reputed the two best lawyers that could be found in all the inns of court: Pemberton, who had, in the time of Charles the Second, been Chief-Justice of the King's Bench, who had been removed from his high place on account of his humanity and moderation, and who had resumed his practice at the bar; and Pollexfen, who had long been at the head of the western circuit, and who, though he had incurred much unpopularity by holding briefs for the crown at the Bloody Assizes, and particularly by appearing against Alice Lisle,

was known to be at heart a Whig, if not a republican. Sir Creswell Levinz was also there, a man of great knowledge and experience, but of singularly timid nature. He had been removed from the bench some years before, because he was afraid to serve the purposes of the government. He was now afraid to appear as the advocate of the bishops, and had at first refused to receive their retainer; but it was intimated to him by the whole body of attorneys who employed him, that, if he declined this brief, he should never have another.

Sir George Treby, an able and zealous Whig, who had been Recorder of London under the old charter, was on the same side. Sir John Holt, a still more eminent Whig lawyer, was not retained for the defence, in consequence, it should seem, of some prejudice conceived against him by Sancroft, but was privately consulted on the case by the Bishop of London. The junior counsel for the bishops was a young barrister named John Somers. He had no advantages of birth or fortune; nor had he yet had any opportunity of distinguishing himself before the eyes of the public; but his genius, his industry, his great and various accomplishments, were well known to a small circle of friends; and, in spite of his Whig opinions, his pertinent and lucid mode of arguing, and the constant propriety of his demeanor, had already secured to him the ear

John Somers.

of the Court of King's Bench. The importance of obtaining his services had been strongly represented to the bishops by Johnstone; and Pollexfen, it is said, had declared that no man in Westminster Hall was so well qualified to treat an historical and constitutional question as Somers.

The jury was sworn; it consisted of persons of highly respectable station. The foreman was Sir Roger Langley, a baronet of old and honorable family. With him were joined a knight and ten esquires, several of whom are known to have been men of large possessions. There were some Nonconformists in the number; for the bishops had wisely resolved not to show any distrust of the Protestant Dissenters. One name excited considerable alarm, that of Michael Arnold. He was brewer to the palace; and it was apprehended that the government counted on his voice. The story goes that he complained bitterly of the position in which he found himself. "Whatever I do," he said, "I am sure to be half ruined. If I say Not Guilty, I shall brew no more for the King; and if I say Guilty, I shall brew no more for anybody else." The jury.

The trial then commenced, a trial which, even when coolly perused after the lapse of more than a century and a half, has all the interest of a drama. The advocates contended on both sides with far more than professional keenness and vehemence; the audience list- The great trial.

ened with as much anxiety as if the fate of every one of them was to be decided by the verdict; and the turns of fortune were so sudden and amazing, that the multitude repeatedly passed in a single minute from anxiety to exultation, and back again from exultation to still deeper anxiety.

Charge against the bishops.

The information charged the bishops with having written or published, in the county of Middlesex, a false, malicious, and seditious libel. The attorney and solicitor first tried to prove the writing. For this purpose several persons were called to speak to the hands of the bishops. But the witnesses were so unwilling that hardly a single, plain answer could be extracted from any of them. Pemberton, Pollexfen, and Levinz contended that there was no evidence to go to the jury. Two of the judges, Holloway and Powell, declared themselves of the same opinion; and the hopes of the spectators rose high. All at once the crown lawyers announced their intention to take another line. Powis, with shame and reluctance which he could not dissemble, put into the witness-box Blathwayt, a clerk of the privy council, who had been present when the King interrogated the bishops. Blathwayt swore that he had heard them own their signatures. His testimony was decisive. "Why," said Judge Holloway to the attorney, "when you had such evidence, did you not produce it at first, without all this waste of time?" It

Blathwayt's evidence.

soon appeared why the counsel for the crown had been unwilling, without absolute necessity, to resort to this mode of proof. Pemberton stopped Blathwayt, subjected him to a searching cross-examination, and insisted upon having all that had passed between the King and the defendants fully related. At length Blathwayt was forced to give a full account of what had passed. It appeared that the King had entered into no express covenant with the bishops. But it appeared also that the bishops might not unreasonably think that there was an implied engagement. Indeed, from the unwillingness of the crown lawyers to put the clerk of the council into the witness-box, and from the vehemence with which they objected to Pemberton's cross-examination, it is plain that they were themselves of this opinion.

However, the handwriting was now proved. But a new and serious objection was raised. It was not sufficient to prove that the bishops had written the alleged libel. It was necessary to prove also that they had written it in the county of Middlesex. And not only was it out of the power of the attorney and solicitor to prove this; but it was in the power of the defendants to prove the contrary. For it so happened that Sancroft had never once left the palace at Lambeth from the time when the order in council appeared till after the petition was in the King's hands. The whole case

New objections.

for the prosecution had, therefore, completely broken down; and the audience, with great glee, expected a speedy acquittal.

The prosecution shifts ground.

The crown lawyers then changed their ground again, abandoned altogether the charge of writing a libel, and undertook to prove that the bishops had published a libel in the county of Middlesex. The difficulties were great. The delivery of the petition to the King was undoubtedly, in the eye of the law, a publication. But how was this delivery to be proved? No person had been present at the audience in the royal closet, except the King and the defendants. The King could not be sworn. It was therefore only by the admissions of the defendants that the fact of publication could be established. Blathwayt was again examined, but in vain. He well remembered, he said, that the bishops owned their hands; but he did not remember that they owned the paper which lay on the table of the privy council to be the same paper which they had delivered to the King, or that they were even interrogated on that point. Several other official men who had been in attendance on the council were called, and among them Samuel Pepys, secretary of the Admiralty; but none of them could remember that anything was said about the delivery. It was to no purpose that Williams put leading questions, till the counsel on the other side declared that such twisting, such wiredraw-

Samuel Pepys.

ing, was never seen in a court of justice, and till Wright himself was forced to admit that the solicitor's mode of examination was contrary to all rule. As witness after witness answered in the negative, roars of laughter and shouts of triumph, which the judges did not even attempt to silence, shook the hall.

The case for the crown is closed.

It seemed that at length this hard fight had been won. The case for the crown was closed. Had the counsel for the bishops remained silent, an acquittal was certain; for nothing which the most corrupt and shameless judge could venture to call legal evidence of publication had been given. The Chief-Justice was beginning to charge the jury, and would undoubtedly have directed them to acquit the defendants; but Finch, too anxious to be perfectly discreet, interfered, and begged to be heard. "If you will be heard," said Wright, "you shall be heard; but you do not understand your own interests." The other counsel for the defence made Finch sit down, and begged the Chief-Justice to proceed. He was about to do so when a messenger came to the solicitor-general with news that Lord Sunderland could prove the publication, and would come down to the court immediately. Wright maliciously told the counsel for the defence that they had only themselves to thank for the turn which things had taken. The countenances of the great multitude fell. Finch was, during some hours, the most unpopular man

Finch's indiscretion

in the country. Why could he not sit still as his betters, Sawyer, Pemberton, and Pollexfen, had done? His love of meddling, his ambition to make a fine speech, had ruined everything.

The lord president.

Meanwhile, the lord president was brought in a sedan chair through the hall. Not a hat moved as he passed; and many voices cried out, "Popish dog." He came into court pale and trembling, with eyes fixed on the ground, and gave his evidence in a faltering voice. He swore that the bishops had informed him of their intention to present a petition to the King, and that they had been admitted into the royal closet for that purpose. This circumstance, coupled with the circumstance that, after they left the closet, there was in the King's hands a petition signed by them, was such proof as might reasonably satisfy a jury of the fact of the publication. Publication in Middlesex was then proved. But was the paper thus published a false, malicious, and seditious libel? Hitherto the matter in dispute had been, whether a fact which everybody well knew to be true could be proved according to technical rules of evidence; but now the contest became one of deeper interest. It was necessary to inquire into the limits of prerogative and liberty, into the right of the King to dispense with statutes, into the right of the subject to petition for the redress of grievances. During three hours the counsel

Publication proved.

for the petitioners argued with great force in defence of the fundamental principles of the constitution, and proved from the journals of the House of Commons that the bishops had affirmed no more than the truth when they represented to the King that the dispensing power which he claimed had been repeatedly declared illegal by Parliament. Somers rose last. He spoke little more than five minutes; but every word was full of weighty matter; and when he sat down his reputation as an orator and a constitutional lawyer was established. He went through the expressions which were used in the information to describe the offence imputed to the bishops, and showed that every word, whether adjective or substantive, was altogether inappropriate. The offence imputed was a false, a malicious, a seditious libel. False the paper was not; for every fact which it set forth had been proved from the journals of Parliament to be true. Malicious the paper was not; for the defendants had not sought an occasion of strife, but had been placed by the government in such a situation that they must either oppose themselves to the royal will, or violate the most sacred obligations of conscience and honor. Seditious the paper was not; for it had not been scattered by the writers among the rabble, but delivered privately into the hands of the King alone; and a libel it was not, but a decent petition, such as, by the laws

Somers's weighty argument.

of England, nay, by the laws of imperial Rome, by the laws of all civilized states, a subject who thinks himself aggrieved may with propriety present to the sovereign.

The acrimonious reply.

The attorney replied shortly and feebly. The solicitor spoke at great length and with great acrimony, and was often interrupted by the clamors and hisses of the audience. He went so far as to lay it down that no subject or body of subjects, except the Houses of Parliament, had a right to petition the King. The galleries were furious; and the Chief-Justice himself stood aghast at the effrontery of this venal turncoat.

The evidence is summed up.

At length Wright proceeded to sum up the evidence. His language showed that the awe in which he stood of the government was tempered by the awe with which the audience, so numerous, so splendid, and so strongly excited, had impressed him. He said that he would give no opinion on the question of the dispensing power, that it was not necessary for him to do so, that he could not agree with much of the solicitor's speech, that it was the right of the subject to petition, but that the particular petition before the court was improperly worded, and was, in the contemplation of law, a libel. Allybone was of the same mind, but, in giving his opinion, showed such gross ignorance of law and history as brought on him the contempt of all who heard him. Holloway evaded the question of the dispens-

ing power, but said that the petition seemed to him to be such as subjects who think themselves aggrieved are entitled to present, and therefore no libel. Powell took a bolder course. He declared that, in his judgment, the Declaration of Indulgence was a nullity, and that the dispensing power, as lately exercised, was utterly inconsistent with all law. If these encroachments of prerogative were allowed, there was no need of Parliaments. The whole legislative authority would be in the King. "That issue, gentlemen," he said, "I leave to God and to your consciences."

It was dark before the jury retired to consider of their verdict. The night was a night of intense anxiety. The jury retires.

The solicitor for the bishops sat up all night with a body of servants on the stairs leading to the room where the jury was consulting. It was absolutely necessary to watch the officers who watched the doors; for those officers were supposed to be in the interest of the crown, and might, if not carefully observed, have furnished a courtly juryman with food, which would have enabled him to starve out the other eleven. Strict guard was therefore kept. Not even a candle to light a pipe was permitted to enter. Some basins of water for washing were suffered to pass at about four in the morning. The jurymen, raging with thirst, soon lapped up the whole. Great numbers of people walked the neigh-

boring streets till dawn. Every hour a messenger came from Whitehall to know what was passing. Voices, high in altercation, were repeatedly heard within the room; but nothing certain was known.

At first, nine were for acquitting and three for convicting. Two of the minority soon gave way; but Arnold was obstinate. Thomas Austin, a country gentleman of great estate, who had paid close attention to the evidence and speeches, and had taken full notes, wished to argue the question. Arnold declined. He was not used, he doggedly said, to reasoning and debating. His conscience was not satisfied; and he should not acquit the bishops. "If you come to that," said Austin, "look at me. I am the largest and strongest of the twelve; and before I find such a petition as this a libel, here I will stay till I am no bigger than a tobacco pipe." It was six in the morning before Arnold yielded. It was soon known that the jury were agreed; but what the verdict would be was still a secret.

Arnold's obstinacy.

At ten the court again met. The crowd was greater than ever. The jury appeared in their box; and there was a breathless stillness.

Sir Samuel Astry spoke. "Do you find the defendants, or any of them, guilty of the misdemeanor whereof they are impeached, or not guilty?" Sir Roger Langley answered, "Not guilty." As the words passed his lips, Hali-

The verdict.

fax sprang up and waved his hat. At that signal, benches and galleries raised a shout. In a moment ten thousand persons, who crowded the great hall, replied with a still louder shout, which made the old oaken roof crack; and, in another moment, the innumerable throng without set up a third huzza, which was heard at Temple Bar. The boats which covered the Thames gave an answering cheer. A peal of gunpowder was heard on the water, and another, and another; and so, in few moments, the glad tidings went flying past the Savoy and the Friars to London Bridge, and to the forest of masts below. As the news spread, streets and squares, market-places and coffee-houses, broke forth into acclamations. Yet were the acclamations less strange than the weeping. For the feelings of men had been wound up to such a point that at length the stern English nature, so little used to outward signs of emotion, gave way, and thousands sobbed aloud for very joy. Meanwhile, from the outskirts of the multitude, horsemen were spurring off to bear along all the great roads intelligence of the victory of our Church and nation. Yet not even that astounding explosion could awe the bitter and intrepid spirit of the solicitor. Striving to make himself heard above the din, he called on the judges to commit those who had violated, by clamor, the dignity of a court of justice. One of the rejoicing populace was

Popular enthusiasm.

seized. But the tribunal felt that it would be absurd to punish a single individual for an offence common to hundreds of thousands, and dismissed him with a gentle reprimand.

It was vain to think of passing at that moment to any other business. Indeed, the roar of the multitude was such that, for half an hour, scarcely a word could be heard in court. Williams got to his coach amid a tempest of hisses and curses.

General rejoicings.

The acquitted prelates took refuge from the crowd which implored their blessing in the nearest chapel where divine service was performing. Many churches were open on that morning throughout the capital; and many pious persons repaired thither. The bells of all the parishes of the city and liberties were ringing. The jury meanwhile could scarcely make their way out of the hall. They were forced to shake hands with hundreds. "God bless you," cried the people; "God prosper your families; you have done like honest good-natured gentlemen. You have saved us all to-day." As the noblemen who had appeared to support the good cause drove off, they flung from their carriage windows handfuls of money, and bade the crowd drink to the health of the bishops and the jury.

James's defeat.

James's defeat had been complete and most humiliating. Had the prelates escaped on account of some technical defect in the case for the crown, had they escaped because they had

not written the petition in Middlesex, or because it was impossible to prove, according to the strict rules of law, that they had delivered to the King the paper for which they were called in question, the prerogative would have suffered no shock. Happily for the country, the fact of publication had been fully established. The counsel for the defence had therefore been forced to attack the dispensing power. They had attacked it with great learning, eloquence, and boldness. The advocates of the government had been by universal acknowledgment overmatched in the contest. Not a single judge had ventured to declare that the Declaration of Indulgence was legal. One judge had in the strongest terms pronounced it illegal. The language of the whole town was, that the dispensing power had received a fatal blow.

Tumultuous demonstrations.

That joyful day was followed by a not less joyful night. The bishops, and some of their most respectable friends, in vain exerted themselves to prevent tumultuous demonstrations of joy. Never within the memory of the oldest, not even on that evening on which it was known through London that the army of Scotland had declared for a free Parliament, had the streets been in such a glare with bonfires. Round every bonfire crowds were drinking good health to the bishops and confusion to the Papists. The windows were lighted with rows of candles. Each row con-

sisted of seven; and the taper in the centre, which was taller than the rest, represented the primate. The noise of rockets, squibs, and firearms, was incessant. One huge pile of fagots blazed right in front of the great gate of Whitehall. Others were lighted before the doors of Roman Catholic peers. Lord Arundell of Wardour wisely quieted the mob with a little money; but at Salisbury House, in the Strand, an attempt at resistance was made. Lord Salisbury's servants sallied out and fired; but they killed only the unfortunate beadle of the parish, who had come thither to put out the fire; and they were soon routed and driven back into the house. None of the spectacles of that night interested the common people so much as one with which they had, a few years before, been familiar, and which they now, after a long interval, enjoyed once more—the burning of the Pope.

Bonfires and burning of the Pope.

THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION

(A.D. 1688)

JOHN RICHARD GREEN

THE announcement of the birth of a Prince of Wales was followed ten days after by a formal invitation to William to intervene in arms for the restoration of English liberty and the protection of the Protestant religion; it was signed by the representatives of the great parties now united against a common danger, and by some others, and was carried to the Hague by Herbert, the most popular of English seamen, who had been deprived of his command for a refusal to vote against the Test. The Invitation called on William to land with an army strong enough to justify those who signed it in rising in arms. It was sent from London on the day after the acquittal of the bishops. The general excitement, the shouts of the boats which covered the river, the bonfires in every street, showed indeed that the country was on the eve of revolt. The army itself, on which James had implicitly relied, suddenly showed its sympathy with the people. James was at

Invitation to William.

Hounslow when the news of the verdict reached him, and as he rode from the camp he heard a great shout behind him. "What is that?" he asked. "It is nothing," was the reply, "only the soldiers are glad that the bishops are acquitted!" "Do you call that nothing?" grumbled the King. The shout told him that he stood utterly alone in his realm. The peerage, the gentry, the bishops, the clergy, the universities, every lawyer, every trader, every farmer, stood aloof from him. And now his very soldiers forsook him. The most devoted Catholics pressed him to give way. But to give way was to change the whole nature of his government. All show of legal rule had disappeared. Sheriffs, mayors, magistrates, appointed by the crown in defiance of a parliamentary statute, were no real officers in the eye of the law. Even if the Houses were summoned, members returned by officers such as these could form no legal Parliament. Hardly a minister of the crown or a privy councillor exercised any lawful authority. James had brought things to such a pass that the restoration of legal government meant the absolute reversal of every act he had done. But he was in no mood to reverse his acts. His temper was only spurred to a more dogged obstinacy by danger and remonstrance. He broke up the camp at Hounslow and dispersed its troops in distant cantonments. He dismissed the two judges who had favored the ac-

The national discontent.

James's obstinacy.

quittal of the bishops. He ordered the chancellor of each diocese to report the names of the clergy who had not read the Declaration of Indulgence. But his will broke fruitlessly against the sullen resistance which met him on every side. Not a chancellor made a return to the Commissioners, and the Commissioners were cowed into inaction by the temper of the nation. When the judges who had displayed their servility to the crown went on circuit the gentry refused to meet them. A yet fiercer irritation was kindled by the King's resolve to supply the place of the English troops, whose temper proved unserviceable for his purposes, by drafts from the Catholic army which Tyrconnel had raised in Ireland. Even the Roman Catholic peers at the Council table protested against this measure; and six officers in a single regiment laid down their commissions rather than enroll the Irish recruits among their men. The ballad of "Lillibullero," a scurrilous attack on the Irish recruits, was sung from one end of England to the other.

James uses Irish troops

An outbreak of revolt was, in fact, inevitable. William was straining all his resources to gather a fleet and sufficient forces, while noble after noble made their way to the Hague. The Earl of Shrewsbury brought £2,000 toward the expenses of the expedition. Edward Russell, the representative of the Whig Earl of Bedford, was followed by the

The nobles join William.

representatives of great Tory houses, by the sons of the Marquis of Winchester, of Lord Danby, of Lord Peterborough, and by the High Church Lord Macclesfield. At home, the Earls of Danby and Devonshire prepared silently with Lord Lumley for a rising in the North. In spite of the profound secrecy with which all was conducted, the keen instinct of Sunderland, who had stooped to purchase continuance in office at the price of a secret apostasy to Catholicism, detected the preparations of William; and the sense that his master's ruin was at hand encouraged him to tell every secret of James on the promise of a pardon for the crimes to which he had lent himself. James alone remained stubborn and insensate as of old. He had no fear of a revolt unaided by the Prince of Orange, and he believed that the threat of a French attack on Holland would render William's departure impossible. But in September the long-delayed war began, and by the greatest political error of his reign, Lewis threw his forces not on Holland, but on Germany. The Dutch at once felt themselves secure; the states-general gave their sanction to William's project, and the armament he had prepared gathered rapidly in the Scheldt. The news no sooner reached England than the King passed from obstinacy to panic. By drafts from Scotland and Ireland he had mustered forty thousand men, but the temper of the troops robbed him of all

Lewis attacks Germany.

trust in them. Help from France was now out of the question. He could only fall back on the older policy of a union with the Tory party and the party of the Church. He personally appealed for support to the bishops. He dissolved the Ecclesiastical Commission. He replaced the magistrates he had driven from office. He restored their franchises to the towns. The Chancellor carried back the Charter of London in state into the city. The Bishop of Winchester was sent to replace the expelled Fellows of Magdalen. Catholic chapels and Jesuit schools were ordered to be closed. Sunderland pressed for the instant calling of a Parliament, but to James the counsel seemed treachery, and he dismissed Sunderland from office. In answer to a declaration from the Prince of Orange, which left the question of the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales to Parliament, he produced before the peers who were in London proofs of the birth of his child. But concessions and proofs came too late. Detained by ill winds, beaten back on its first venture by a violent storm, William's fleet of six hundred transports, escorted by fifty men-of-war, anchored, on the fifth of November, in Torbay; and his army, thirteen thousand men strong, entered Exeter amid the shouts of its citizens. His coming had not been looked for in the West, and for a week no great landowner joined him. But nobles and squires soon flocked to his camp, and the

James is panic-stricken.

Sunderland is dismissed.

adhesion of Plymouth secured his rear. Insurrection broke out in Scotland. Danby, dashing at the head of a hundred horsemen into York, gave the signal for a rising. The militia met his appeal with shouts of "A free Parliament and the Protestant religion!" Peers and gentry flocked to his standard; and a march on Nottingham united his forces to those under Devonshire, who had mustered at Derby the great lords of the midland and eastern counties. Everywhere the revolt was triumphant. The garrison of Hull declared for a free Parliament. The Duke of Norfolk appeared at the head of three hundred gentlemen in the market-place at Norwich. At Oxford townsmen and gownsmen greeted Lord Lovelace with uproarious welcome. Bristol threw open its gates to the Prince of Orange, who advanced steadily on Salisbury, where James had mustered his forces. But the King's army, broken by dissensions and mutual suspicions among its leaders, fell back in disorder; and the desertion of Lord Churchill was followed by that of so many other officers that James abandoned the struggle in despair. He fled to London to hear that his daughter Anne had left St. James's to join Danby at Nottingham. "God help me," cried the wretched King, "for my own children have forsaken me!" His spirit was utterly broken; and though he promised to call the Houses together, and despatched commissioners to

The rising in the North

Flight of James.

Hungerford to treat with William on the terms of a free Parliament, in his heart he had resolved on flight. Parliament, he said to the few who still clung to him, would force on him concessions he could not endure; and he only waited for news of the escape of his wife and child to make his way to the Isle of Sheppey, where a hoy lay ready to carry him to France. Some rough fishermen, who took him for a Jesuit, prevented his escape, and a troop of Life Guards brought him back in safety to London: but it was the policy of William and his advisers to further a flight which removed their chief difficulty out of the way. It would have been hard to depose James had he remained, and perilous to keep him prisoner: but the entry of the Dutch troops into London, the silence of the Prince, and an order to leave St. James's, filled the King with fresh terrors, and, taking advantage of the means of escape which were almost openly placed at his disposal, James a second time quitted London, and embarked on the 23d of December unhindered for France.

He is captured.

His final departure.

Before flying James had burnt most of the writs convoking the new Parliament, had disbanded his army, and destroyed so far as he could all means of government. For a few days there was a wild burst of panic and outrage in London, but the orderly instinct of the people soon reasserted itself. The Lords who were at the moment in London provided on

their own authority as Privy Councillors for the more pressing needs of administration, and resigned their authority into William's hands on his arrival. The difficulty which arose from the absence of any person legally authorized to call Parliament together was got over by convoking the House of Peers, and forming a second body of all members who had sat in the Commons in the reign of Charles the Second, with the Aldermen and Common Councillors of London. Both bodies requested William to take on himself the provisional government of the kingdom, and to issue circular letters inviting the electors of every town and county to send up representatives to a Convention which met in January, 1689. In the new Convention both Houses were found equally resolved against any recall of or negotiation with the fallen King. They were united in intrusting a provisional authority to the Prince of Orange. But with this step their unanimity ended. The Whigs, who formed a majority in the Commons, voted a resolution which, illogical and inconsistent as it seemed, was well adapted to unite in its favor every element of the opposition to James: the Churchman who was simply scared by his bigotry, the Tory who doubted the right of a nation to depose its King, the Whig who held the theory of a contract between King and People. They voted that King James, "having endeavored to sub-

The Convention.

The Whigs Resolution.

vert the constitution of this kingdom by breaking the original contract between King and People, and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant." But in the Lords, where the Tories were still in the ascendant, the resolution was fiercely debated. Archbishop Sancroft with the high Tories held that no crime could bring about a forfeiture of the crown, and that James still remained King, but that his tyranny had given the nation a right to withdraw from him the actual exercise of government and to intrust his functions to a Regency. The moderate Tories under Danby's guidance admitted that James had ceased to be king, but denied that the throne could be vacant, and contended that from the moment of his abdication the sovereignty vested in his daughter Mary. It was in vain that the eloquence of Halifax backed the Whig peers in struggling for the resolution of the Commons as it stood. The plan of a Regency was lost by a single vote, and Danby's scheme was adopted by a large majority. But both the Tory courses found a sudden obstacle in William. He declined to be Regent. He had no mind, he said to Danby, to be his wife's gentleman-usher. Mary, on the other hand, refused to accept the crown save in conjunction with her hus-

Opposition to the "Lords."

William and Mary.

band. The two declarations put an end to the question. It was agreed that William and Mary should be acknowledged as joint sovereigns, but that the actual administration should rest with William alone. A Parliamentary committee in which the most active member was John Somers, a young lawyer who had distinguished himself in the trial of the bishops and who was destined to play a great part in later history, drew up a Declaration of Rights which was presented on February 13th to William and Mary by the two Houses in the banqueting-room at Whitehall. It recited the misgovernment of James, his abdication, and the resolve of the Lords and Commons to assert the ancient rights and liberties of English subjects. It condemned as illegal his establishment of an ecclesiastical commission, and his raising an army without Parliamentary sanction. It denied the right of any king to suspend or dispense with laws, or to exact money, save by consent of Parliament. It asserted for the subject a right to petition, to a free choice of representatives in Parliament, and to a pure and merciful administration of justice. It declared the right of both Houses to liberty of debate. It demanded securities for the free exercise of their religion by all Protestants, and bound the new sovereign to maintain the Protestant religion and the law and liberties of the realm. In full faith that these principles would be ac-

Declaration of Rights.

cepted and maintained by William and Mary, it ended with declaring the Prince and Princess of Orange King and Queen of England. At the close of the Declaration, Halifax, in the name of the Estates of the Realm, prayed them to receive the crown. William accepted the offer in his own name and his wife's, and declared in a few words the resolve of both to maintain the laws and to govern by advice of Parliament.

William accepts the crown for himself and Mary.

BATTLE OF THE BOYNE

(A.D. 1690)

THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY

ON the 24th of June, the tenth day after William's landing, he marched southward from Loughbrickland with all his forces. He was fully determined to take the first opportunity of fighting. Schomberg and some other officers recommended caution and delay. But the King answered that he had not come to Ireland to let the grass grow under his feet. The event seems to prove that he judged rightly as a general. That he judged rightly as a statesman can not be doubted. He knew that the English nation was discontented with the way in which the war had hitherto been conducted; that nothing but rapid and splendid success could revive the enthusiasm of his friends and quell the spirit of his enemies; and that a defeat could scarcely be more injurious to his fame and to his interests than a languid and indecisive campaign.

William determines upon immediate fighting.

The original intention of James seems to have been to try the chances of a pitched field on the border between Leinster and Ulster.

But this design was abandoned, in consequence, apparently, of the representations of Lauzun, who, though very little disposed and very little qualified to conduct a campaign on the Fabian system, had the admonitions of Louvois still in his ears. James, though resolved not to give up Dublin without a battle, consented to retreat till he should reach some spot where he might have the vantage of ground. When therefore William's advanced guard reached Dundalk, nothing was to be seen of the Irish army, except a great cloud of dust which was slowly rolling southward toward Ardee. The English halted one night near the ground on which Schomberg's camp had been pitched in the preceding year; and many sad recollections were awakened by the sight of that dreary marsh, the sepulchre of thousands of brave men. James retreats.

Still William continued to push forward, and still the Irish receded before him, till, on the morning of Monday, the 30th of June, his army, marching in three columns, reached the summit of a rising ground near the southern frontier of the county of Louth. Beneath lay a valley, now so rich and so cheerful that the Englishman who gazes on it may imagine himself to be in one of the most highly favored parts of his own highly favored country. Fields of wheat, woodlands, meadows bright with daisies and clover, slope gently down to the edge of the Boyne. William advances to the valley of the Boyne.

When William caught sight of the valley of the Boyne, he could not repress an exclamation and a gesture of delight. He had been apprehensive that the enemy would avoid a decisive action, and would protract the war till the autumnal rains should return with pestilence in their train. He was now at ease. It was plain that the contest would be sharp and short. The pavilion of James was pitched on the eminence of Donore. The flags of the House of Stuart and of the House of Bourbon waved together in defiance on the walls of Drogheda. All the southern bank of the river was lined by the camp and batteries of the hostile army. Thousands of armed men were moving about among the tents; and every one, horse soldier or foot soldier, French or Irish, had a white badge in his hat. That color had been chosen in compliment to the House of Bourbon. "I am glad to see you, gentlemen," said the King, as his keen eye surveyed the Irish lines. "If you escape me now, the fault will be mine."

James at Donore

Each of the contending princes had some advantages over his rival. James, standing on the defensive, behind intrenchments, with a river before him, had the stronger position; but his troops were inferior both in number and in quality to those which were opposed to him. He probably had thirty thousand men. About a third part of this force consisted of excellent French infantry and excel-

Respective advantages

lent Irish cavalry. But the rest of his army was the scoff of all Europe. The Irish dragoons were bad; the Irish infantry worse. It was said that their ordinary way of fighting was to discharge their pieces once, and then to run away bawling "Quarter" and "Murder." Their inefficiency was, in that age, commonly imputed, both by their enemies and by their allies, to natural poltroonery. How little ground there was for such an imputation has since been signally proved by many heroic achievements in every part of the globe. It ought, indeed, even in the Seventeenth Century, to have occurred to reasonable men that a race which furnished some of the best horse soldiers in the world would certainly, with judicious training, furnish good foot soldiers. But the Irish foot soldiers had not merely not been well trained: they had been elaborately ill trained. The greatest of our generals repeatedly and emphatically declared that even the admirable army which fought its way, under his command, from Torres Vedras to Toulouse, would, if he had suffered it to contract habits of pillage, have become, in a few weeks, unfit for all military purposes. What then was likely to be the character of troops who, from the day on which they enlisted, were not merely permitted, but invited, to supply the deficiencies of pay by marauding? They were, as might have been expected, a mere mob, furious in-

The Irish troops.

Wellington's opinion.

deed and clamorous in their zeal for the cause which they had espoused, but incapable of opposing a steadfast resistance to a well ordered force.

William's army.

William had under his command near thirty-six thousand men, born in many lands, and speaking many tongues. Scarcely one Protestant Church, scarcely one Protestant nation, was unrepresented in the army which a strange series of events had brought to fight for the Protestant religion in the remotest island of the west. About half of the troops were natives of England. Among the foreign auxiliaries were a Brandenburg regiment and a Finland regiment. But in that great array, so variously composed, were two bodies of men animated by a spirit peculiarly fierce and implacable, the Huguenots of France thirsting for the blood of the French, and the Englishry of Ireland impatient to trample down the Irish.

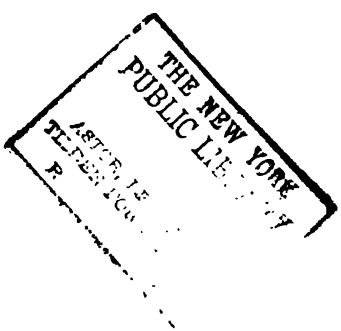
Schomberg's opposition.

The King's resolution to attack the Irish was not approved by all his lieutenants. Schomberg, in particular, pronounced the experiment too hazardous, and, when his opinion was overruled, retired to his tent in no very good humor. When the order of battle was delivered to him, he muttered that he had been more used to give such orders than to receive them. For this little fit of sullenness, very pardonable in a general who had won great victories when his master was

THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE

From the painting by West

—Vol. V, pages 1450 1403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still a child, the brave veteran made, on the following morning, a noble atonement.

The 1st of July dawned, a day which has never since returned without exciting strong emotions of very different kinds in the two populations which divide Ireland. The sun rose bright and cloudless. Soon after four both armies were in motion. William ordered his right wing, under the command of Meinhart Schomberg, one of the Duke's sons, to march to the bridge of Slane, some miles up the river, to cross there, and to turn the left flank of the Irish army. Meinhart Schomberg was assisted by Portland and Douglas. James, anticipating some such design, had already sent to the bridge a regiment of dragoons, commanded by Sir Neil O'Neil. O'Neil behaved himself like a brave gentleman: but he soon received a mortal wound: his men fled; and the English right wing passed the river.

The first manœuvre.

The First of July.

This move made Lauzun uneasy. What if the English right wing should get into the rear of the army of James? About four miles south of the Boyne was a place called Duleek, where the road to Dublin was so narrow that two cars could not pass each other, and where on both sides of the road lay a morass which afforded no firm footing. If Meinhart Schomberg should occupy this spot, it would be impossible for the Irish to retreat. They must either conquer, or be cut off to a man.

Lauzun's apprehensions.

Disturbed by this apprehension, the French general marched with his countrymen and with Sarsfield's horse in the direction of Slane Bridge. Thus the fords near Oldbridge were left to be defended by the Irish alone.

It was now near ten o'clock. William put himself at the head of his left wing, which was composed exclusively of cavalry, and prepared to pass the river not far above Drogheda. The centre of his army, which consisted almost exclusively of foot, was intrusted to the command of Schomberg, and was marshalled opposite to Oldbridge. At Oldbridge the whole Irish infantry had been collected. The Meath bank bristled with pikes and bayonets. A fortification had been made by French engineers out of the hedges and buildings; and a breastwork had been thrown up close to the water side. Tyrconnel was there; and under him were Richard Hamilton and Antrim.

The cavalry advances.

Schomberg gave the word. Solmes's Blues were the first to move. They marched gallantly, with drums beating, to the brink of the Boyne. Then the drums stopped; and the men, ten abreast, descended into the water. Next plunged Londonderry and Enniskillen. A little to the left of Londonderry and Enniskillen, Caillemot crossed, at the head of a long column of French refugees. A little to the left of Caillemot and his refugees, the main body of the English infantry struggled

Schomberg's attack.

through the river, up to their armpits in water. Still further down the stream the Danes found another ford. In a few minutes the Boyne, for a quarter of a mile, was alive with muskets and green boughs.

The army fords the Boyne.

It was not till the assailants had reached the middle of the channel that they became aware of the whole difficulty and danger of the service in which they were engaged. They had as yet seen little more than half the hostile army. Now whole regiments of foot and horse seemed to start out of the earth. A wild shout of defiance rose from the whole shore: during one moment the event seemed doubtful: but the Protestants pressed resolutely forward; and in another moment the whole Irish line gave way. Tyrconnel looked on in helpless despair. Several of his best officers fell while vainly endeavoring to prevail on their soldiers to look the Dutch Blues in the face. Richard Hamilton ordered a body of foot to fall on the French refugees, who were still deep in water. He led the way, and, accompanied by several courageous gentlemen, advanced, sword in hand, into the river. But neither his commands nor his example could infuse courage into that mob of cowstealers. He was left almost alone, and retired from the bank in despair. Further down the river Antrim's division ran like sheep at the approach of the English column. Whole regiments flung away arms, colors and cloaks, and scam-

Perilous service.

Flight of the Irish.

pered off to the hills without striking a blow or firing a shot.

It required many years and many heroic exploits to take away the reproach which that ignominious rout left on the Irish name. Yet, even before the day closed, it was abundantly proved that the reproach was unjust. Richard Hamilton put himself at the head of the cavalry, and, under his command, they made a gallant though an unsuccessful attempt to retrieve the day. They maintained a desperate fight in the bed of the river with Solmes's Blues. They drove the Danish brigade back into the stream. They fell impetuously on the Huguenot regiments, which, not being provided with pikes, then ordinarily used by foot to repel horse, began to give ground. Caillemot, while encouraging his fellow exiles, received a mortal wound in the thigh. Four of his men carried him back across the ford to his tent. As he passed, he continued to urge forward the rear ranks which were still up to the breast in the water. "On; on; my lads: to glory; to glory." Schomberg, who had remained on the northern bank, and who had thence watched the progress of his troops with the eye of a general, now thought that the emergency required from him the personal exertion of a soldier. Those who stood about him besought him in vain to put on his cuirass. Without defensive armor he rode through the river, and rallied the refu-

Hamilton's gallantry.

Caillemot's bravery.

gees whom the fall of Caillemot had dismayed. "Come on," he cried in French, pointing to the Popish squadrons; "Come on, gentlemen: there are your persecutors." Those were his last words. As he spoke, a band of Irish horsemen rushed upon him and encircled him for a moment. When they retired, he was on the ground. His friends raised him; but he was already a corpse. Two sabre wounds were on his head; and a bullet from a carbine was lodged in his neck. Almost at the same moment Walker, while exhorting the colonists of Ulster to play the man, was shot dead. During near half an hour the battle continued to rage along the southern shore of the river. All was smoke, dust and din. Old soldiers were heard to say that they had seldom seen sharper work in the Low Countries. But, just at this conjuncture, William came up with the left wing. He had found much difficulty in crossing. The tide was running fast. His charger had been forced to swim, and had been almost lost in the mud. As soon as the King was on firm ground he took his sword in his left hand,—for his right arm was stiff with his wound and his bandage,—and led his men to the place where the fight was the hottest. His arrival decided the fate of the day. Yet the Irish horse retired fighting obstinately. The Irish cavalry made their last stand at a house called Plottin Castle, about a mile and a half south of Oldbridge.

Death of Schomberg.

Arrival of the left wing.

The last stand.

There the Enniskilleners were repelled with the loss of fifty men, and were hotly pursued, till William rallied them and turned the chase back.

And now the battle was over. Hamilton was mistaken in thinking that his horse would continue to fight. Whole troops had been cut to pieces. One fine regiment had only thirty unwounded men left. It was enough that these gallant soldiers had disputed the field till they were left without support, without hope, without guidance, till their bravest leader was a captive, and till their King had fled.

James's cowardice.

Whether James had owed his early reputation for valor to accident and flattery, or whether, as he advanced in life, his character underwent a change, may be doubted. But it is certain that, in his youth, he was generally believed to possess not merely that average measure of fortitude which qualifies a soldier to go through a campaign without disgrace, but that high and serene intrepidity which is the virtue of great commanders. It is equally certain that, in his later years, he repeatedly, at conjunctures such as have often inspired timorous and delicate women with heroic courage, showed a pusillanimous anxiety about his personal safety. Of the most powerful motives which can induce human beings to encounter peril, none was wanting to him on the day of the Boyne. The eyes of his

contemporaries and of posterity, of friends devoted to his cause and of enemies eager to witness his humiliation, were fixed upon him. He had, in his own opinion, sacred rights to maintain and cruel wrongs to revenge. He was a King come to fight for three kingdoms. He was a father come to fight for the birthright of his child. He was a zealous Roman Catholic, come to fight in the holiest of crusades. If all this was not enough, he saw, from the secure position which he occupied on the height of Donore, a sight which, it might have been thought, would have roused the most torpid of mankind to emulation. He saw his rival, weak, sickly, wounded, swimming the river, struggling through the mud, leading the charge, stopping the flight, grasping the sword with the left hand, managing the bridle with a bandaged arm. But none of these things moved that sluggish and ignoble nature. He watched, from a safe distance, the beginning of the battle on which his fate and the fate of his race depended. When it became clear that the day was going against Ireland, he was seized with an apprehension that his flight might be intercepted, and galloped toward Dublin. He was escorted by a bodyguard under the command of Sarsfield, who had, on that day, had no opportunity of displaying the skill and courage which his enemies allowed that he possessed. The French auxiliaries, who had been employed the whole

William's heroism.

morning in keeping William's right wing in check, covered the flight of the beaten army. They were, indeed, in some danger of being broken and swept away by the torrent of runaways, all pressing to get first to the pass of Duleek, and were forced to fire repeatedly on these despicable allies. The retreat was, however, effected with less loss than might have been expected. For even the admirers of William owned that he did not show in the pursuit the energy which even his detractors acknowledged that he had shown in the battle. Perhaps his physical infirmities, his hurt, and the fatigue which he had undergone, had made him incapable of bodily or mental exertion. Of the last forty hours he had passed thirty-five on horseback. Schomberg, who might have supplied his place, was no more. It was said in the camp that the King could not do everything, and that what was not done by him was not done at all.

The retreat.

Small losses.

The slaughter had been less than on any battlefield of equal importance and celebrity. Of the Irish only about fifteen hundred had fallen; but they were almost all cavalry, the flower of the army, brave and well disciplined men, whose place could not easily be supplied. William gave strict orders that there should be no unnecessary bloodshed, and enforced those orders by an act of laudable severity. One of his soldiers, after the fight was over, butchered three defenceless Irishmen who

asked for quarter. The King ordered the murderer to be hanged on the spot.

The loss of the conquerors did not exceed five hundred men; but among them was the first captain in Europe. To his corpse every honor was paid. The only cemetery in which so illustrious a warrior, slain in arms for the liberties and religion of England, could properly be laid was that venerable Abbey, hallowed by the dust of many generations of princes, heroes and poets. It was announced that the brave veteran should have a public funeral at Westminster. In the meantime his corpse was embalmed with such skill as could be found in the camp, and was deposited in a leaden coffin.

Honors paid to Schomberg

[In 1690, the siege of Limerick occurs; the battle of Fleurus takes place; England and Holland induce the Duke of Savoy to grant toleration to Protestants; in 1691, Limerick surrenders and hostilities cease in Ireland; Mons surrenders to the French, who storm Barcelona and Alicant; and Prince Louis of Baden defeats the Turks.]

THE MASSACRE OF GLENCOE

(A.D. 1692)

THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY

MEANWHILE the Master of Stair was forming, in concert with Breadalbane and Argyle, a plan for the destruction of the people of Glencoe. It was necessary to take the King's pleasure, not, indeed, as to the details of what was to be done, but as to the question whether Mac Ian and his people should or should not be treated as rebels out of the pale of the ordinary law. The Master of Stair found no difficulty in the royal closet. William had, in all probability, never heard the Glencoe men mentioned except as banditti. He knew that they had not come in by the prescribed day. That they had come in after that day he did not know. If he paid any attention to the matter, he must have thought that so fair an opportunity of putting an end to the devastations and depredations from which a quiet and industrious population had suffered so much ought not to be lost.

William's responsibility.

An order was laid before him for signature.

He signed it, but, if Burnet may be trusted, did not read it. Whoever has seen anything of public business knows that princes and ministers daily sign, and indeed must sign, documents which they have not read: and of all documents a document relating to a small tribe of mountaineers, living in a wilderness not set down in any map, was least likely to interest a sovereign whose mind was full of schemes on which the fate of Europe might depend. But, even on the supposition that he read the order to which he affixed his name, there seems to be no reason for blaming him. That order, directed to the Commander of the Forces in Scotland, runs thus: "As for Mac Ian of Glencoe and that tribe, if they can be well distinguished from the other Highlanders, it will be proper, for the vindication of public justice, to extirpate that set of thieves." These words naturally bear a sense perfectly innocent, and would, but for the horrible event which followed, have been universally understood in that sense. It is undoubtedly one of the first duties of every government to extirpate gangs of thieves. This does not mean that every thief ought to be treacherously assassinated in his sleep, or even that every thief ought to be publicly executed after a fair trial, but that every gang, as a gang, ought to be completely broken up, and that whatever severity is indispensably necessary for that end ought to be used. If

The order.

One of the first duties of government.

William's understanding.

William had read and weighed the words which were submitted to him by his secretary, he would probably have understood them to mean that Glencoe was to be occupied by troops, that resistance, if resistance were attempted, was to be put down with a strong hand, that severe punishment was to be inflicted on those leading members of the clan who could be proved to have been guilty of great crimes, that some active young freebooters, who were more used to handle the broadsword than the plow, and who did not seem likely to settle down into quiet laborers, were to be sent to the army in the Low Countries, that others were to be transported to the American plantations, and that those Macdonalds who were suffered to remain in their native valley were to be disarmed and required to give hostages for good behavior. A plan very nearly resembling this had, we know, actually been the subject of much discussion in the political circles of Edinburgh. There can be little doubt that William would have deserved well of his people if he had, in this manner, extirpated not only the tribe of Mac Ian, but every Highland tribe whose calling was to steal cattle and burn houses.

The Master of Stair's plan.

The extirpation planned by the Master of Stair was of a different kind. His design was to butcher the whole race of thieves, the whole damnable race. Such was the language in which his hatred vented itself. He studied

the geography of the wild country which surrounded Glencoe, and made his arrangements with infernal skill. If possible, the blow must be quick, and crushing, and altogether unexpected. But if Mac Ian should apprehend danger and should attempt to take refuge in the territories of his neighbors, he must find every road barred. The pass of Rannoch must be secured. The Laird of Weems, who was powerful in Strath Tay, must be told that, if he harbors the outlaws, he does so at his peril. Breadalbane promised to cut off the retreat of the fugitives on one side, Mac Callum More on another. It was fortunate, the secretary wrote, that it was winter. This was the time to maul the wretches. The nights were so long, the mountain tops so cold and stormy, that even the hardiest men could not long bear exposure to the open air without a roof or a spark of fire. That the women and children could find shelter in the desert was quite impossible. While he wrote thus, no thought that he was committing a great wickedness crossed his mind. He was happy in the approbation of his own conscience. Duty, justice, nay charity and mercy, were the names under which he disguised his cruelty; nor is it by any means improbable that the disguise imposed upon himself.

Breadalbane's willingness.

Hill, who commanded the forces assembled at Fort William, was not intrusted with the

Hill's humanity.

execution of the design. He seems to have been a humane man; he was much distressed when he learned that the government was determined on severity; and it was probably thought that his heart might fail him in the most critical moment. He was directed to put a strong detachment under the orders of his second in command, Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton. To Hamilton a significant hint was conveyed that he had now an excellent opportunity of establishing his character in the estimation of those who were at the head of affairs. Of the troops intrusted to him a large proportion were Campbells, and belonged to a regiment lately raised by Argyle, and called by Argyle's name. It was probably thought that, on such an occasion, humanity might prove too strong for the mere habit of military obedience, and that little reliance could be placed on hearts which had not been ulcerated by a feud such as had long raged between the people of Mac Ian and the people of Mac Callum More.

Hamilton's instructions

Had Hamilton marched openly against the Glencoe men and put them to the edge of the sword, the act would probably not have wanted apologists, and most certainly would not have wanted precedents. But the Master of Stair had strongly recommended a different mode of proceeding. If the least alarm were given, the nest of robbers would be found empty; and to hunt them down in so

wild a region would, even with all the help that Breadalbane and Argyle could give, be a long and difficult business. "Better," he wrote, "not meddle with them than meddle to no purpose. When the thing is resolved, let it be secret and sudden." He was obeyed; and it was determined that the Glencoe men should perish, not by military execution, but by the most dastardly and perfidious form of assassination.

Extermination by assassination.

On the first of February a hundred and twenty soldiers of Argyle's regiment, commanded by a captain named Campbell and a lieutenant named Lindsay, marched to Glencoe. Captain Campbell was commonly called in Scotland Glenlyon, from the pass in which his property lay. He had every qualification for the service on which he was employed, an unblushing forehead, a smooth lying tongue, and a heart of adamant. He was also one of the few Campbells who were likely to be trusted and welcomed by the Macdonalds; for his niece was married to Alexander, the second son of Mac Ian.

Campbell's treachery.

The sight of the red coats approaching caused some anxiety among the population of the valley. John, the eldest son of the chief, came, accompanied by twenty clansmen, to meet the strangers, and asked what this visit meant. Lieutenant Lindsay answered that the soldiers came as friends, and wanted nothing but quarters. They were kindly re-

Reception of the military.

ceived, and were lodged under the thatched roofs of the little community. Glenlyon and several of his men were taken into the house of a tacksman who was named, from the cluster of cabins over which he exercised authority, Inverriggen. Lindsay was accommodated nearer to the abode of the old chief. Auchintriater, one of the principal men of the clan, who governed the small hamlet of Auchnaion, found room there for a party commanded by a sergeant named Barbour. Provisions were liberally supplied. There was no want of beef, which had probably fattened in distant pastures; nor was any payment demanded: for in hospitality, as in thievery, the Gaelic marauders rivalled the Bedouins. During twelve days the soldiers lived familiarly with the people of the glen. Old Mac Ian, who had before felt many misgivings as to the relation in which he stood to the government, seems to have been pleased with the visit. The officers passed much of their time with him and his family. The long evenings were cheerfully spent by the peat fire with the help of some packs of cards which had found their way to that remote corner of the world, and of some French brandy which was probably part of James's farewell gift to his Highland supporters. Glenlyon appeared to be warmly attached to his niece and her husband Alexander. Every day he came to their house to take his morn-

Highland hospitality.

ing draught. Meanwhile he observed with minute attention all the avenues by which, when the signal for the slaughter should be given, the Macdonalds might attempt to escape to the hills; and he reported the result of his observations to Hamilton.

Hamilton fixed five o'clock in the morning of the thirteenth of February for the deed. He hoped that, before that time, he should reach Glencoe with four hundred men, and should have stopped all the earths in which the old fox and his two cubs,—so Mac Ian and his sons were nicknamed by the murderers,—could take refuge. But, at five precisely, whether Hamilton had arrived or not, Glenlyon was to fall on, and to slay every Macdonald under seventy. Hamilton's arrangements.

The night was rough. Hamilton and his troops made slow progress, and were long after their time. While they were contending with the wind and snow, Glenlyon was supping and playing at cards with those whom he meant to butcher before daybreak. He and Lieutenant Lindsay had engaged themselves to dine with the old chief on the morrow.

Late in the evening a vague suspicion that some evil was intended crossed the mind of the chief's eldest son. The soldiers were evidently in a restless state; and some of them uttered strange cries. Two men, it is said, were overheard whispering. "I do not like this job," one of them muttered: "I should be glad Suspicions of evil.

to fight the Macdonalds. But to kill men in their beds—" "We must do as we are bid," answered another voice. "If there is anything wrong, then our officers must answer for it."

John Macdonald was so uneasy that, soon after midnight, he went to Glenlyon's quarters. Glenlyon and his men were all up, and seemed to be getting their arms ready for action. John, much alarmed, asked what these preparations meant. Glenlyon was profuse of friendly assurances. "Some of Glengarry's people have been harrying the country. We are getting ready to march against them. You are quite safe. Do you think that, if you were in any danger, I should not have given a hint to your brother Sandy and his wife?" John's suspicions were quieted. He returned to his house, and lay down to rest.

It was five in the morning. Hamilton and his men were still some miles off; and the avenues which they were to have secured were open. But the orders which Glenlyon had received were precise; and he began to execute them at the little village where he was himself quartered. His host, Inverriggen, and nine other Macdonalds, were dragged out of their beds, bound hand and foot, and murdered. A boy twelve years old clung round the captain's legs, and begged hard for life. He would do anything: he would go anywhere: he would follow Glenlyon round the

The massacre.

world. Even Glenlyon, it is said, showed signs of relenting: but a ruffian named Drummond shot the child dead.

At Auchnaion the tacksman Auchintriater was up early that morning, and was sitting with eight of his family round the fire, when a volley of musketry laid him and seven of his companions dead or dying on the floor. His brother, who alone had escaped unhurt, called to Sergeant Barbour, who commanded the slayers, and asked as a favor to be allowed to die in the open air. "Well," said the Sergeant, "I will do you that favor for the sake of your meat which I have eaten." The mountaineer, bold, athletic, and favored by the darkness, came forth, rushed on the soldiers who were about to level their pieces at him, flung his plaid over their faces, and was gone in a moment.

Escape of Auchintriater.

Meanwhile Lindsay had knocked at the door of the old chief and had asked for admission in friendly language. The door was opened. Mac Ian, while putting on his clothes and calling to his servants to bring some refreshments for his visitors, was shot through the head. Two of his attendants were slain with him. His wife was already up and dressed in such finery as the princesses of the rude Highland glens were accustomed to wear. The assassins pulled off her clothes and trinkets. The rings were not easily taken from her fingers: but a soldier

Death of the chief.

tore them away with his teeth. She died on the following day.

Blunders of the assassins.

The statesman to whom chiefly this great crime is to be ascribed had planned it with consummate ability: but the execution was complete in nothing but in guilt and infamy. A succession of blunders saved three-fourths of the Glencoe men from the fate of their chief. All the moral qualities which fit men to bear a part in a massacre Hamilton and Glenlyon possessed in perfection. But neither seems to have had much professional skill. Hamilton had arranged his plan without making allowance for bad weather, and this in a country and at a season when the weather was very likely to be bad. The consequence was that the fox earths, as he called them, were not stopped in time. Glenlyon and his men committed the error of despatching their hosts with firearms instead of using the cold steel. The peal and flash of gun after gun gave notice, from three different parts of the valley at once, that murder was doing. From fifty cottages the half naked peasantry fled under cover of the night to the recesses of their pathless glen. Even the sons of Mac Ian, who had been especially marked out for destruction, contrived to escape. They were roused from sleep by faithful servants. John, who, by the death of his father, had become the patriarch of the tribe, quitted his dwelling just as twenty soldiers, with fixed bayonets,

Escape of Macdonalds.

marched up to it. It was broad day long before Hamilton arrived. He found the work not even half performed. About thirty corpses lay wallowing in blood on the dunghills before the doors. One or two women were seen among the number, and, a yet more fearful and piteous sight, a little hand, which had been lopped in the tumult of the butchery from some infant. One aged Macdonald was found alive. He was probably too infirm to fly, and, as he was above seventy, was not included in the orders under which Glenlyon had acted. Hamilton murdered the old man in cold blood. The deserted hamlets were then set on fire; and the troops departed, driving away with them many sheep and goats, nine hundred kine, and two hundred of the small, shaggy ponies of the Highlands.

Sufferings of the fugitives.

It is said, and may but too easily be believed, that the sufferings of the fugitives were terrible. How many old men, how many women with babes in their arms, sank down and slept their last sleep in the snow; how many having crawled, spent with toil and hunger, into nooks among the precipices, died in those dark holes, and were picked to the bone by the mountain ravens, can never be known. But it is probable that those who perished by cold, weariness and want were not less numerous than those who were slain by the assassins. When the troops had retired, the Macdonalds crept out of the caverns of Glencoe, ventured

back to the spot where the huts had formerly stood, collected the scorched corpses from among the smoking ruins, and performed some rude rites of sepulture. The tradition runs that the hereditary bard of the tribe took his seat on a rock which overhung the place of slaughter, and poured forth a long lament over his murdered brethren and his desolate home. Eighty years later that sad dirge was still repeated by the population of the valley.

The death dirge.

The survivors might well apprehend that they had escaped the shot and the sword only to perish by famine. The whole domain was a waste. Houses, barns, furniture, implements of husbandry, herds, flocks, horses, were gone. Many months must elapse before the clan would be able to raise on its own ground the means of supporting even the most miserable existence.

THE BATTLE OF LA HOGUE

(A.D. 1692)

THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY

BEFORE the end of April the English fleet was ready to sail. Three noble ships, just launched from our dockyards, appeared for the first time on the water. William had been hastening the maritime preparations of the United Provinces; and his exertions had been successful. On the 29th of April a fine squadron from the Texel appeared in the Downs. Soon came the North Holland squadron, the Maes squadron, the Zealand squadron. The whole force of the confederate powers was assembled at Saint Helen's in the second week of May, more than ninety sail of the line, manned by between thirty and forty thousand of the finest seamen of the two great maritime nations. Russell had the chief command. He was assisted by Sir Ralph Delaval, Sir John Ashley, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, Rear Admiral Carter, and Rear Admiral Rooke. Of the Dutch officers Van Almonde was the highest in rank.

Maritime preparations.

No mightier armament had ever appeared in the British Channel. There was little rea-

son for apprehending that such a force could be defeated in a fair conflict. Nevertheless, there was great uneasiness in London. It was known that there was a Jacobite party in the navy. Alarming rumors had worked their way round from France. It was said that the enemy reckoned on the co-operation of some of those officers on whose fidelity, in this crisis, the safety of the State might depend. Russell, as far as can now be discovered, was still unsuspected. But others, who were probably less criminal, had been more indiscreet. At all the coffee-houses admirals and captains were mentioned by name as traitors who ought to be instantly cashiered, if not shot. It was even confidently affirmed that some of the guilty had been put under arrest, and others turned out of the service. The Queen and her counsellors were in a great strait. It was not easy to say whether the danger of trusting the suspected persons or the danger of removing them were the greater. Mary, with many painful misgivings, resolved, and the event proved that she resolved wisely, to treat the evil reports as calumnious, to make a solemn appeal to the honor of the accused gentlemen, and then to trust the safety of her kingdom to their national and professional spirit.

Uneasiness in London.

Mary's wise conduct.

On the 15th of May a great assembly of officers was convoked at Saint Helen's on board the *Britannia,* a fine three-decker, from which Russell's flag was flying. The Admiral told

them that he had received a despatch which he was charged to read to them. It was from Nottingham. The Queen, the secretary wrote, had been informed that stories deeply affecting the character of the navy were in circulation. It had even been affirmed that she had found herself under the necessity of dismissing many officers. But Her Majesty was determined to believe nothing against those brave servants of the State. The gentlemen who had been so foully slandered might be assured that she placed entire reliance on them. This letter was admirably calculated to work on those to whom it was addressed. Very few of them probably had been guilty of any worse offence than rash and angry talk over their wine. They were as yet only grumblers. If they had fancied that they were marked men, they might, in self-defence, have become traitors. They became enthusiastically loyal as soon as they were assured that the Queen reposed entire confidence in their loyalty. They eagerly signed an address in which they entreated her to believe that they would, with the utmost resolution and alacrity, venture their lives in defence of her rights, of English freedom and of the Protestant religion, against all foreign and Popish invaders. "God," they added, "preserve your person, direct your counsels, and prosper your arms; and let all your people say Amen."

Its happy consequences.

The sincerity of these professions was soon

brought to the test. A few hours after the meeting on board of the *Britannia* the masts of Tourville's squadron were seen from the cliffs of Portland. One messenger galloped with the news from Weymouth to London, and roused Whitehall at three in the morning. Another took the coast road, and carried the intelligence to Russell. All was ready; and on the morning of the 17th of May the allied fleet stood out to sea.

The fleet set sail, May 17.

Tourville had with him only his own squadron, consisting of forty-four ships of the line. But he had received positive orders to protect the descent on England, and not to decline a battle. Though these orders had been given before it was known at Versailles that the Dutch and English fleets had joined, he was not disposed to take on himself the responsibility of disobedience. He still remembered with bitterness the reprimand which his extreme caution had drawn upon him after the fight of Beachy Head. He would not again be told that he was a timid and unenterprising commander, that he had no courage but the vulgar courage of a common sailor. He was also persuaded that the odds against him were rather apparent than real. He believed, on the authority of James and Melfort, that the English seamen, from the flag officers down to the cabin boys, were Jacobites. Those who fought would fight with half a heart; and there would probably be numerous desertions

Tourville's instructions

at the most critical moment. Animated by such hopes he sailed from Brest, steered first toward the northeast, came in sight of the coast of Dorsetshire, and then struck across the Channel toward La Hogue, where the army which he was to convoy to England had already begun to embark on board of the transports. He was within a few leagues of Barfleur when, before daybreak, on the morning of the 19th of May, he saw the great armament of the allies stretching along the eastern horizon. He determined to bear down on them. By eight the two lines of battle were formed; but it was eleven before the firing began. It soon became plain that the English, from the Admiral downward, were resolved to do their duty. Russell had visited all his ships, and exhorted all his crews. "If your commanders play false," he said, "overboard with them, and with myself the first." There was no defection. There was no slackness. Carter was the first who broke the French line. He was struck by a splinter of one of his own yardarms, and fell dying on the deck. He would not be carried below. He would not let go his sword. "Fight the ship," were his last words: "fight the ship as long as she can swim." The battle lasted till four in the afternoon. The roar of the guns was distinctly heard more than twenty miles off by the army which was encamped on the coast of Normandy. During the earlier part of the day

Tourville approaches La Hogue.

His vain hopes.

Russell's exhortations.

the wind was favorable to the French: they were opposed to half of the allied fleet; and against that half they maintained the conflict with their usual courage and with more than their usual seamanship. After a hard and doubtful fight of five hours, Tourville thought that enough had been done to maintain the honor of the white flag, and began to draw off.

Tourville's retreat.

But by this time the wind had veered, and was with the allies. They were now able to avail themselves of their great superiority of force. They came on fast. The retreat of the French became a flight. Tourville fought his own ship desperately. She was named, in allusion

The *Royal Sun.*

to Lewis's favorite emblem, the *Royal Sun,* and was widely renowned as the finest vessel in the world. It was reported among the English sailors that she was adorned with an image of the Great King, and that he appeared there, as he appeared in the Place of Victories, with vanquished nations in chains beneath his feet. The gallant ship, surrounded by enemies, lay like a great fortress on the sea, scattering death on every side from her hundred and four portholes. She was so formidably manned that all attempts to board her failed. Long after sunset, she got clear of her assailants, and, with all her scuppers spouting blood, made for the coast of Normandy. She had suffered so much that Tourville hastily removed his flag to a ship of ninety guns which was named the *Ambitious.*

By this time his fleet was scattered far over the sea. About twenty of his smallest ships made their escape by a road which was too perilous for any courage but the courage of despair. In the double darkness of night and of a thick sea fog, they ran, with all their sails spread, through the boiling waves and treacherous rocks of the Race of Alderney, and, by a strange good fortune, arrived without a single disaster at Saint Maloes. The pursuers did not venture to follow the fugitives into that terrible strait, the place of innumerable shipwrecks.

Flight of the French.

Those French vessels which were too bulky to venture into the Race of Alderney fled to the havens of the Cotentin. The *Royal Sun* and two other three-deckers reached Cherburg in safety. The *Ambitious,* with twelve other ships, all first rates or second rates, took refuge in the Bay of La Hogue, close to the headquarters of the army of James.

The three ships which had fled to Cherburg were closely chased by an English squadron under the command of Delaval. He found them hauled up into shoal water where no large man-of-war could get at them. He therefore determined to attack them with his fireships and boats. The service was gallantly and successfully performed. In a short time the *Royal Sun* and her two consorts were burned to ashes. Part of the crews escaped to shore, part fell into the hands of the English.

Boat and fire-ship attack.

La Hogue blockaded.

Meanwhile Russell with the greater part of his victorious fleet had blockaded the port of La Hogue. Here, as at Cherburg, the French men-of-war had been drawn up into shallow water. They lay close to the camp of the army which was destined for the invasion of England. Six of them were moored under a fort named Lisset. The rest lay under the guns of another fort named Saint Vaast, where James had fixed his headquarters, and where the Union flag, variegated by the crosses of Saint George and Saint Andrew, hung by the side of the white flag of France. Marshal Bellefonds had planted several batteries which, it was thought, would deter the boldest enemy from approaching either Fort Lisset or Fort Saint Vaast. James, however, who knew something of English seamen, was not perfectly at ease, and proposed to send strong bodies of soldiers on board of the ships. But Tourville would not consent to put such a slur on his profession.

James is ill at ease.

Russell meanwhile was preparing for an attack. On the afternoon of the 23d of May all was ready. A flotilla consisting of sloops, of fireships, and of two hundred boats, was intrusted to the command of Rooke. The whole armament was in the highest spirits. The rowers, flushed by success, and animated by the thought that they were going to fight under the eyes of the French and Irish troops who had been assembled for the purpose of

subjugating England, pulled manfully and with loud huzzas toward the six huge wooden castles which lay close to Fort Lisset. The French, though an eminently brave people, have always been more liable to sudden panics than their phlegmatic neighbors the English and Germans. On this day there was a panic both in the fleet and in the army. Tourville ordered his sailors to man their boats, and would have led them to encounter the enemy in the bay. But his example and his exhortations were vain. His boats turned round and fled in confusion. The ships were abandoned. The cannonade from Fort Lisset was so feeble and ill directed that it did no execution. The regiments on the beach, after wasting a few musket shots, drew off. The English boarded the men-of-war, set them on fire, and having performed this great service without the loss of a single life, retreated at a late hour with the retreating tide. The bay was in a blaze during the night; and now and then a loud explosion announced that the flames had reached a powder room or a tier of loaded guns. At eight the next morning the tide came back strong; and with the tide came back Rooke and his two hundred boats. The enemy made a faint attempt to defend the vessels which were near Fort Saint Vaast. During a few minutes the batteries did some execution among the crews of our skiffs; but the struggle was soon over. The French poured

Rooke's boat attack.

Capture of the French ships.

fast out of their ships on one side: the English poured in as fast on the other, and, with loud shouts, turned the captured guns against the shore. The batteries were speedily silenced. James and Melfort, Bellefonds and Tourville, looked on in helpless despondency while the second conflagration proceeded. The conquerors, leaving the ships of war in flames, made their way into an inner basin where many transports lay. Eight of these vessels were set on fire. Several were taken in tow. The rest would have been either destroyed or carried off, had not the sea again begun to ebb. It was impossible to do more; and the victorious flotilla slowly retired, insulting the hostile camp with a thundering chant of "God save the King."

Renewed triumph.

Thus ended, at noon on the 24th of May, the great conflict which had raged during five days over a wide extent of sea and shore. One English fireship had perished in its calling. Sixteen French men-of-war, all noble vessels, and eight of them three-deckers, had been sunk or burned down to the keel. The battle is called, from the place where it terminated, the battle of La Hogue.

Significance of the victory.

The news was received in London with boundless exultation. In the fight on the open sea, indeed, the numerical superiority of the allies had been so great that they had little reason to boast of their success. But the courage and skill with which the crews of the En-

glish boats had, in a French harbor, in sight of a French army, and under the fire of French batteries, destroyed a fine French fleet, amply justified the pride with which our fathers pronounced the name of La Hogue. That we may fully enter into their feelings, we must remember that this was the first great check that had ever been given to the arms of Lewis the Fourteenth, and the first great victory that the English had gained over the French since the day of Agincourt. The stain left on our fame by the shameful defeat of Beachy Head was effaced. This time the glory was all our own. The Dutch had indeed done their duty, as they have always done it in maritime war, whether fighting on our side or against us, whether victorious or vanquished. But the English had borne the brunt of the fight. Russell, who commanded in chief, was an Englishman. Delaval, who directed the attack on Cherburg, was an Englishman. Rooke, who led the flotilla into the Bay of La Hogue, was an Englishman. The only two officers of note who had fallen, Admiral Carter and Captain Hastings of the *Sandwich,* were Englishmen. Yet the pleasure with which the good news was received here must not be ascribed solely or chiefly to national pride. The island was safe. The pleasant pastures, cornfields and commons of Hampshire and Surrey would not be the seat of war. The houses and gardens, the kitchens and dairies, the cellars and

Reception of the news in London.

National safety.

plate chests, the wives and daughters of our gentry and clergy would not be at the mercy of Irish Rapparees, who had sacked the dwellings and skinned the cattle of the Englishry of Leinster, or of French dragoons accustomed to live at free quarters on the Protestants of Auvergne. Whigs and Tories joined in thanking God for this great deliverance; and the most respectable nonjurors could not but be glad at heart that the rightful King was not to be brought back by an army of foreigners.

Thanksgiving of Whigs and Tories.

[In 1692, a witch persecution starts in Salem; Luxembourg defeats King William at Steenkirke. In 1693, the French destroy the Smyrna merchant fleet and gain successes against the allies, and the Palatinate is ravaged; a terrible eruption of Etna and earthquake in Sicily nearly destroys Messina, Syracuse and Catania; Dieppe, Havre-du-Grace and Dunkirk are bombarded. The English Parliament passes the Triennial Act; the Czar Peter employs a Dutch shipwright to build him a vessel at Archangel; and the University of Halle is established. In 1694, the French Academy publishes its Dictionary. William forms the Junto and thus originates the Cabinet system in England. The Bank of England is founded. Königsmarck, the lover of Sophia Dorothea, wife of George of Hanover, is murdered. In 1695, William gains the greatest

Bank of England founded.

success of his life in the capture of Namur. The Turks defeat a Venetian fleet and the Imperials on land. In 1696, a plot against William's life greatly strengthens his position; the Eddystone lighthouse is built. In 1697, the Peace of Ryswick is signed. Prince Eugene defeats the Turks at Zenta. Charles XI. of Sweden dies and is succeeded by his son, Charles XII. Peter the Czar travels in Europe and works as a ship-carpenter in Holland. In 1698, the partition of the Spanish monarchy is settled by a treaty between Great Britain, France and the United Provinces; a Scotch colony is established on the Isthmus of Darien; Peter returns to Russia and disbands the rebellious Strelitz guards; the Society for Propagating Christianity is formed in London. The treaty of Carlowitz concludes peace with the Turks. In 1699, Christian V. of Denmark dies and his son, Frederic IV., joins Poland and Russia in a league against Sweden. Peter introduces the computation of time by the Christian Era into Russia. In 1700, Louis XIV. proclaims his grandson king of Spain as Philip V.; Charles XII. defeats the Russians at Nerva; Peter proclaims himself the head of the Russian Church and abolishes the patriarchate. Captain Kidd is convicted of piracy and executed in 1701; the Elector of Brandenburg assumes the title of Frederick I., King of Prussia. In 1702, Charles XII. victoriously invades Po-

Peter the Great a ship-carpenter.

Peter becomes head of the Russian Church

land; the King of Prussia abolishes serfdom, founds the order of the Black Eagle, and founds the Academy of Berlin under Leibnitz. England and Portugal form the Methuen treaty of commerce in 1703; and the Archduke of Austria assumes the title of Charles III., King of Spain, and is supported by the English, Dutch and Portuguese. Peter lays the foundation of St. Petersburg; the Janizaries revolt. Gibraltar surrenders to Sir George Rooke in 1704.]

St. Petersburg is founded.

THE BATTLE OF BLENHEIM

(A.D. 1704)

E. S. CREASY

THOUGH more slowly molded and less imposingly vast than the empire of Napoleon, the power which Louis XIV. had acquired and was acquiring at the commencement of the Eighteenth Century was almost equally menacing to the general liberties of Europe. Tested by the amount of *permanent* aggrandizement which each procured for France, the ambition of the royal Bourbon was more successful than were the enterprises of the imperial Corsican. All the provinces that Bonaparte conquered were rent again from France within twenty years from the date when the very earliest of them was acquired. France is not stronger by a single city or a single acre for all the devastating wars of the Consulate and the Empire. But she still possesses Franche-Comté, Alsace, and part of Flanders. She has still the extended boundaries which Louis XIV. gave her.

Empire of Louis XIV.

When Louis XIV. began to govern, he

His absolute power.

found all the materials for a strong government ready to his hand. Richelieu had completely tamed the turbulent spirit of the French nobility, and had subverted the "imperium in imperio" of the Huguenots. The faction of the Frondeurs in Mazarin's time had had the effect of making the Parisian Parliament utterly hateful and contemptible in the eyes of the nation. The Assemblies of the States-General were obsolete. The royal authority alone remained. The King was the State. Louis knew his position. He fearlessly avowed it, and he fearlessly acted up to it.

Impotence of the rest of Europe.

While France was thus strong and united in herself, what European power was there fit to cope with her or keep her in check?

"As to Germany, the ambitious projects of the German branch of Austria had been entirely defeated, the peace of the Empire had been restored, and almost a new constitution formed, or an old revived, by the treaties of Westphalia; *nay, the imperial eagle was not only fallen, but her wings were clipped.*"

As to Spain, the Spanish branch of the Austrian house had sunk equally low. Philip II. left his successors a ruined monarchy.

It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that France, in the first war of Louis XIV., despised the opposition of both branches of the once predominant house of Austria. Indeed, in Germany, the French King acquired allies

among the princes of the Empire against the Emperor himself. He had a still stronger support in Austria's misgovernment of her own subjects. "France became a sure though secret ally of the Turks as well as the Hungarians, and has found her account in it by keeping the Emperor in perpetual alarms on that side, while she has ravaged the Empire and the Low Countries on the other."* France's allies.

If we turn to the two only remaining European powers of any importance at that time, to England and to Holland, we find the position of our own country as to European politics, from 1660 to 1688, most painful to contemplate. From 1660 to 1688, "England, by the return of the Stuarts, was reduced to a nullity." The words are Michelet's, and, though severe, they are just. England and Holland.

Holland alone, of all the European powers, opposed from the very beginning a steady and uniform resistance to the ambition and power of the French King. It was against Holland that the fiercest attacks of France were made, and, though often apparently on the eve of complete success, they were always ultimately baffled by the stubborn bravery of the Dutch, and the heroism of their great leader, William of Orange. When he became King of England, the power of this country was thrown decidedly into the scale against France; but though the contest was thus rendered less un-

* Bolingbroke.

equal, France had the general superiority in every war and in every treaty; and the commencement of the Eighteenth Century found the last league against her dissolved, all the forces of confederates against her dispersed, and many disbanded.

Twofold ambition of Louis XIV.

It must be borne in mind that the ambition of Louis was twofold. Its immediate object was to conquer and annex to France the neighboring provinces and towns that were most convenient for the increase of her strength, but the ulterior object of Louis, from the time of his marriage to the Spanish Infanta in 1659, was to acquire for the house of Bourbon the whole Empire of Spain. As the time passed on, and the prospect of Charles II. of Spain dying without lineal heirs became more and more certain, so did the claims of the house of Bourbon to the Spanish crown after his death become matters of urgent interest to French ambition on the one hand, and to the other powers of Europe on the other. At length the unhappy King of Spain died. By his will he appointed Philip, Duke of Anjou, one of Louis XIV.'s grandsons, to succeed him on the throne of Spain, and strictly forbade any partition of his dominions. Louis well knew that a general European war would follow if he accepted for his house the crown thus bequeathed. But he had been preparing for this crisis throughout his reign. He sent his grandson into Spain as King Philip V. of that

Will of Charles II.

country, addressing to him, on his departure, the memorable words, "There are no longer any Pyrenees."

The Empire, which now received the grandson of Louis as its King, comprised, besides Spain itself, the strongest part of the Netherlands, Sardinia, Sicily, Naples, the principality of Milan, and other possessions in Italy, the Philippines and Manilla Islands in Asia, and in the New World, besides California and Florida, the greatest part of Central and Southern America. Philip was well received in Madrid, where he was crowned as King Philip V. in the beginning of 1701. The distant portions of his Empire sent in their adhesion; and the house of Bourbon, either by its French or Spanish troops, now had occupation both of the kingdom of Francis I., and of the fairest and amplest portions of the Empire of the great rival of Francis, Charles V. Spain's possessions.

Loud was the wrath of Austria, whose princes were the rival claimants of the Bourbons for the Empire of Spain. The indignation of our William III., though not equally loud, was far more deep and energetic. By his exertions, a League against the house of Bourbon was formed between England, Holland, and the Austrian Emperor, which was subsequently joined by the Kings of Portugal and Prussia, by the Duke of Savoy, and by Denmark. Indeed, the alarm throughout Europe was now general and urgent. It was League against the Bourbons.

evident that Louis aimed at consolidating France and the Spanish dominions into one preponderating empire.

Death of William.

The death of King William, on the 8th of March, 1702, at first seemed likely to paralyze the League against France. A short time showed how vain the fears of some and the hope of others were. Queen Anne, within three days after her accession, went down to the House of Lords, and there declared her resolution to support the measures planned by her predecessor. Anne was married to Prince George of Denmark, and by her accession to the English throne the confederacy against Louis obtained the aid of the troops of Denmark; but Anne's strong attachment to one of her female friends led to far more important advantages to the anti-Gallican confederacy than the acquisition of many armies, for it gave them Marlborough as their captain-general.

Marlborough's ability.

King William's knowledge of Marlborough's high abilities is said to have caused that sovereign in his last illness to recommend Marlborough to his successor as the fittest person to command her armies.

He was not only made captain-general of the English forces at home and abroad, but such was the authority of England in the council of the Grand Alliance, and Marlborough was so skilled in winning golden opinions from all whom he met with, that

on his reaching The Hague he was received with transports of joy by the Dutch, and it was agreed by the heads of that republic, and the minister of the Emperor, that Marlborough should have the chief command of all the allied armies.

His arduous station.

It must, indeed, in justice to Marlborough, be borne in mind that mere military skill was by no means all that was required of him in his arduous and invidious station. Had it not been for his unrivalled patience and sweetness of temper, and his marvellous ability in discerning the character of those whom he had to act with, his intuitive perception of those who were to be thoroughly trusted, and of those who were to be amused with the mere semblance of respect and confidence; had not Marlborough possessed and employed, while at the head of the allied armies, all the qualifications of a polished courtier and a great statesman, he never would have led the allied armies to the Danube. The confederacy would not have held together for a single year.

War declared against France.

War was formally declared by the allies against France on the 4th of May, 1702. The principal scenes of its operations were, at first, Flanders, the Upper Rhine, and North Italy. Marlborough headed the allied troops in Flanders during the first two years of the war, and took some towns from the enemy, but nothing decisive occurred. Nor did any

actions of importance take place during this period between the rival armies in Italy. But in the centre of that line, from north to south, from the mouth of the Scheldt to the mouth of the Po, along which the war was carried on, the generals of Louis XIV. acquired advantages in 1703 which threatened one chief member of the Grand Alliance with utter destruction. France had obtained the important assistance of Bavaria as her confederate in the war. The elector of this powerful German State made himself master of the strong fortress of Ulm, and opened a communication with the French armies on the Upper Rhine. By this junction, the troops of Louis were enabled to assail the Emperor in the very heart of Germany. In the autumn of the year 1703, the combined armies of the elector and French King completely defeated the Imperialists in Bavaria: and in the following winter they made themselves masters of the important cities of Augsburg and Passau. Meanwhile the French army of the Upper Rhine and Moselle had beaten the allied armies opposed to them, and taken Treves with Landau. At the same time, the discontents in Hungary with Austria again broke out into open insurrection, so as to distract the attention and complete the terror of the Emperor and his council at Vienna.

Bavaria assists France.

French successes.

Louis XIV. ordered the next campaign to be commenced by his troops on a scale of

grandeur and with a boldness of enterprise such as even Napoleon's military schemes have seldom equalled. On the extreme left of the line of war, in the Netherlands, the French armies were to act only on the defensive. The fortresses in the hands of the French there were so many and so strong that no serious impression seemed likely to be made by the allies on the French frontier in that quarter during one campaign, and that one campaign was to give France such triumphs elsewhere as would (it was hoped) determine the war. Large detachments were therefore to be made from the French force in Flanders, and they were to be led by Marshal Villeroy to the Moselle and Upper Rhine. The French army already in the neighborhood of those rivers was to march under Marshal Tallard through the Black Forest and join the Elector of Bavaria, and the French troops that were already with the elector under Marshal Marsin. Meanwhile the French army of Italy was to advance through the Tyrol into Austria, and the whole forces were to combine between the Danube and the Inn. A strong body of troops was to be despatched into Hungary, to assist and organize the insurgents in that kingdom; and the French grand army of the Danube was then in collected and irresistible might to march upon Vienna, and dictate terms of peace to the Emperor.

Plans of campaign.

Anxiety of Marlborough.

Marlborough had watched, with the deepest anxiety, the progress of the French arms on the Rhine and in Bavaria, and he saw the futility of carrying on a war of posts and sieges in Flanders, while death-blows to the Empire were being dealt on the Danube. He resolved, therefore, to let the war in Flanders languish for a year, while he moved with all the disposable forces that he could collect to the central scenes of decisive operations. Such a march was in itself difficult; but Marlborough had, in the first instance, to overcome the still greater difficulty of obtaining the consent and cheerful co-operation of the allies, especially of the Dutch, whose frontier it was proposed thus to deprive of the larger part of the force which had hitherto been its protection: to the general councils of his allies he only disclosed part of his daring scheme. He proposed to the Dutch that he should march from Flanders to the Upper Rhine and Moselle with the British troops and part of the foreign auxiliaries, and commence vigorous operations against the French armies in that quarter, while General Auverquerque, with the Dutch and the remainder of the auxiliaries, maintained a defensive war in the Netherlands. Having with difficulty obtained the consent of the Dutch to this portion of his project, he exercised the same diplomatic zeal, with the same success, in urging the King of Prussia and other princes of the Em-

Marlborough's scheme.

pire to increase the number of the troops which they supplied, and to post them in places convenient for his own intended movements.

Marlborough commenced his celebrated march on the 19th of May. He had only marched a single day, when the series of interruptions, complaints, and requisitions from the other leaders of the allies began, to which he seemed subjected throughout his enterprise, and which would have caused its failure in the hands of any one not gifted with the firmness and the exquisite temper of Marlborough. Marlborough's march.

Marlborough reached the Rhine at Coblentz, where he crossed that river, and then marched along its left bank to Broubach and Mentz. Before even a blow was struck, his enterprise had paralyzed the enemy, and had materially released Austria from the pressure of the war. Villeroy, with his detachments from the French Flemish army, was completely bewildered by Marlborough's movements; and, unable to divine where it was that the English general meant to strike his blow, wasted away the early part of the summer between Flanders and the Moselle without effecting anything. Villeroy's bewilderment.

Marshal Tallard, who commanded forty-five thousand French at Strasburg, and who had been destined by Louis to march early in the vear into Bavaria, thought that Marlborough's march along the Rhine was prelim-

Tallard's apprehensions.

inary to an attack upon Alsace; and the marshal, therefore, kept back in order to protect France in that quarter. Marlborough skilfully encouraged his apprehensions, by causing a bridge to be constructed across the Rhine at Philipsburg, and by making the Landgrave of Hesse advance his artillery at Mannheim, as if for a siege at Landau. Meanwhile the Elector of Bavaria and Marshal Marsin, suspecting that Marlborough's design might be what it really proved to be, forbore to press upon the Austrians opposed to them, or to send troops into Hungary; they kept back so as to secure their communications with France. Thus, when Marlborough, at the beginning of June, left the Rhine and marched for the Danube, the numerous hostile armies were uncombined, and unable to check him.

Marlborough marches for the Danube.

"With such skill and science had this enterprise been concerted, that at the very moment when it assumed a specific direction, the enemy was no longer enabled to render it abortive. As the march was now to be bent toward the Danube, notice was given for the Prussians, Palatines, and Hessians, who were stationed on the Rhine, to order their march so as to join the main body in its progress. At the same time, directions were sent to accelerate the advance of the Danish auxiliaries, who were marching from the Netherlands."*

Crossing the river Neckar, Marlborough

* Coxe.

marched in a southeastern direction to Mundelsheim, where he had his first personal interview with Prince Eugene. Thence, through a difficult and dangerous country, Marlborough continued his march against the Bavarians, whom he encountered on the 2d of July on the heights of the Schullenberg, close to Donauwert. Marlborough stormed their intrenched camp, crossed the Danube, took several strong places in Bavaria, and made himself completely master of the elector's dominions, except the fortified cities of Munich and Augsburg. But the elector's army, though defeated at Donauwert, was still numerous and strong: and at last Marshal Tallard, when thoroughly apprised of the real nature of Marlborough's movements, crossed the Rhine; and being suffered, through the supineness of the German general at Stollhoffen, to march without loss through the Black Forest, he united his powerful army at Biberbach, near Augsburg, with that of the elector and the French troops under Marshal Marsin, who had previously been cooperating with the Bavarians.

Meeting of Marlborough and Prince Eugene.

Tallard joins Marsin.

On the other hand, Marlborough recrossed the Danube, and on the 11th of August united his army with the Imperialist forces under Prince Eugene. The combined armies occupied a position near Hochstadt, a little higher up the left bank of the Danube than Donauwert, the scene of Marlborough's recent vic-

tory. The French marshals and the elector were now in position a little further to the east, between Blenheim and Lutzingen, and with the little stream of the Nebel between them and the troops of Marlborough and Eugene. The Gallo-Bavarian army consisted of about sixty thousand men, and they had sixty-one pieces of artillery. The army of the allies was about fifty-six thousand strong with fifty-two guns.

Positions of the armies.

The French and Bavarians were posted behind a little stream called the Nebel, which runs almost from north to south into the Danube immediately in front of the village of Blenheim. The Nebel flows along a little valley, and the French occupied the rising ground to the west of it. The village of Blenheim was the extreme right of their position, and the village of Lutzingen, about three miles north of Blenheim, formed their left. Beyond Lutzingen are the rugged high grounds of the Godd Berg and Eich Berg, on the skirts of which some detachments were posted, so as to secure the Gallo-Bavarian position from being turned on the left flank. The Danube secured their right flank; and it was only in front that they could be attacked. The villages of Blenheim and Lutzingen had been strongly palisaded and intrenched. Marshal Tallard, who held the chief command, took his station at Blenheim; the elector and Marshal Marsin commanded

Tallard's position at Blenheim.

on the left. Tallard garrisoned Blenheim with twenty-six battalions of French infantry and twelve squadrons of French cavalry. Marsin and the elector had twenty-two battalions of infantry and thirty-six squadrons of cavalry in front of the village of Lutzingen. The centre was occupied by fourteen battalions of infantry, including the celebrated Irish brigade. These were posted in the little hamlet of Oberglau, which lies somewhat nearer to Lutzingen than to Blenheim. Eighty squadrons of cavalry and seven battalions of foot were ranged between Oberglau and Blenheim. Thus the French position was very strong at each extremity, but was comparatively weak in the centre. Tallard seems to have relied on the swampy state of the part of the valley that reaches from below Oberglau to Blenheim for preventing any serious attack on this part of his line.

Dispositions of the allies.

The army of the allies was formed into two great divisions, the largest being commanded by the Duke in person, and being destined to act against Tallard, while Prince Eugene led the other division, which consisted chiefly of cavalry, and was intended to oppose the enemy under Marsin and the elector. As they approached the enemy, Marlborough's troops formed the left and the centre, while Eugene's formed the right of the entire army. Early in the morning of the 13th of August, the allies left their own camp and marched toward the

enemy. A thick haze covered the ground, and it was not until the allied right and centre had advanced nearly within cannon shot of the enemy that Tallard was aware of their approach.

The battle opens.

He completed his preparations with what haste he could, and about eight o'clock a heavy fire of artillery was opened from the French right on the advancing left wing of the British. Marlborough ordered up some of his batteries to reply to it, and while the columns that were to form the allied left and centre deployed, and took up their proper stations in the line, a warm cannonade was kept up by the guns on both sides.

Eugene's difficulties.

The ground which Eugene's columns had to traverse was peculiarly difficult, especially for the passage of the artillery, and it was nearly midday before he could get his troops into line opposite to Lutzingen. During this interval, Marlborough ordered divine service to be performed by the chaplains at the head of each regiment, and then rode along the lines, and found both officers and men in the highest spirits, and waiting impatiently for the signal for the attack. At length an aide-de-camp galloped up from the right with the welcome news that Eugene was ready. Marlborough instantly sent Lord Cutts, with a strong brigade of infantry, to assault the village of Blenheim, while he himself led the main body down the eastward slope of the

Cutts's assault on Blenheim.

valley of the Nebel, and prepared to effect the passage of the stream.

The assault on Blenheim, though bravely made, was repulsed with severe loss; and Marlborough, finding how strongly that village was garrisoned, desisted from any further attempts to carry it, and bent all his energies to breaking the enemy's line between Blenheim and Oberglau. Some temporary bridges had been prepared, and planks and fascines had been collected; and by the aid of these, and a little stone bridge which crossed the Nebel near a hamlet called Unterglau, that lay in the centre of the valley, Marlborough succeeded in getting several squadrons across the Nebel, though it was divided into several branches, and the ground between them was soft, and, in places, little better than a mere marsh. But the French artillery was not idle. The cannon balls plunged incessantly among the advancing squadrons of the allies, and bodies of French cavalry rode frequently down from the western ridge, to charge them before they had time to form on the firm ground. It was only by supporting his men by fresh troops, and by bringing up infantry, who checked the advance of the enemy's horse by their steady fire, that Marlborough was able to save his army in this quarter from a repulse, which, succeeding the failure of the attack upon Blenheim, would probably have been fatal to

Attack on the French centre.

the allies. By degrees, his cavalry struggled over the blood-stained streams; the infantry were also now brought across, so as to keep in check the French troops who held Blenheim, and who, when no longer assailed in front, had begun to attack the allies on their left with considerable effect.

Peril of the allied centre.

Marlborough had thus at last succeeded in drawing up the whole left wing of his army beyond the Nebel, and was about to press forward with it, when he was called away to another part of the field by a disaster that had befallen his centre. The Prince of Holstein Beck had, with eleven Hanoverian battalions, passed the Nebel opposite to Oberglau, when he was charged and utterly routed by the Irish brigade which held that village. The Irish drove the Hanoverians back with heavy slaughter, broke completely through the line of the allies, and nearly achieved a success as brilliant as that which the same brigade afterward gained at Fontenoy. But at Blenheim their ardor in pursuit led them too far. Marlborough came up in person, and dashed in upon the exposed flank of the brigade with some squadrons of British cavalry. The Irish reeled back, and as they strove to regain the height of Oberglau, their column was raked through and through by the fire of three battalions of the allies, which Marlborough had summoned up from the reserve.

Eugene had hitherto not been equally for-

tunate. He had made three attacks on the enemy opposed to him, and had been thrice driven back. It was only by his own desperate personal exertions and the remarkable steadiness of the regiments of Prussian infantry which were under him, that he was able to save his wing from being totally defeated. Marlborough restores order.

Like Hannibal, Marlborough relied principally on his cavalry for achieving his decisive successes, and it was by his cavalry that Blenheim, the greatest of his victories, was won. The battle had lasted till five in the afternoon. Marlborough had now eight thousand horsemen drawn up in two lines, and in the most perfect order for a general attack on the enemy's line along the space between Blenheim and Oberglau. The infantry was drawn up in battalions in their rear, so as to support them if repulsed, and to keep in check the large masses of the French that still occupied the village of Blenheim. Tallard now interlaced his squadrons of cavalry with battalions of infantry; and Marlborough, by a corresponding movement, brought several regiments of infantry, and some pieces of artillery, to his front line at intervals between the bodies of horse. A little after five, Marlborough commenced the decisive movement, and the allied cavalry, strengthened and supported by foot and guns, advanced slowly from the lower ground near the Nebel up the slope to where the French cavalry, ten thou- Blenheim won by cavalry. The decisive charge.

sand strong, awaited them. On riding over the summit of the acclivity, the allies were received with so hot a fire from the French artillery and small arms, that at first the cavalry recoiled, but without abandoning the high ground. The guns and the infantry which they had brought with them maintained the contest with spirit and effect. The French fire seemed to slacken. Marlborough instantly ordered a charge along the line. The allied cavalry galloped forward at the enemy's squadrons, and the hearts of the French horsemen failed them. Discharging their carbines at an idle distance, they wheeled round and spurred from the field, leaving the nine infantry battalions of their comrades to be ridden down by the torrent of the allied cavalry. The battle was now won. Tallard and Marsin, severed from each other, thought only of retreat. Tallard drew up the squadrons of horse that he had left, in a line extended toward Blenheim, and sent orders to the infantry in that village to leave it and join him without delay. But, long ere his orders could be obeyed, the conquering squadrons of Marlborough had wheeled to the left and thundered down on the feeble array of the French marshal. Part of the force which Tallard had drawn up for this last effort was driven into the Danube; part fled with their general to the village of Sonderheim, where they were soon surrounded by the victorious allies,

Flight of the French horse.

and compelled to surrender. Meanwhile, Eugene had renewed his attack upon the Gallo-Bavarian left, and Marsin, finding his colleague utterly routed, and his own right flank uncovered, prepared to retreat. He and the elector succeeded in withdrawing a considerable part of their troops in tolerable order to Dillingen; but the large body of French who garrisoned Blenheim were left exposed to certain destruction. Marlborough speedily occupied all the outlets from the village with his victorious troops, and then, collecting his artillery around it, he commenced a cannonade that speedily would have destroyed Blenheim itself and all who were in it. After several gallant but unsuccessful attempts to cut their way through the allies, the French in Blenheim were at length compelled to surrender at discretion; and twenty-four battalions and twelve squadrons, with all their officers, laid down their arms, and became the captives of Marlborough.

Marsin's retreat.

Surrender of the French in Blenheim.

"Such," says Voltaire, "was the celebrated battle which the French call the battle of Hochstet, the Germans Plentheim, and the English Blenheim. The conquerors had about five thousand killed and eight thousand wounded, the greater part being on the side of Prince Eugene. The French army was almost entirely destroyed: of sixty thousand men, so long victorious, there never reassembled more than twenty thousand effective.

Losses in the battle.

About twelve thousand killed, fourteen thousand prisoners, all the cannon, a prodigious number of colors and standards, all the tents and equipages, the general of the army, and one thousand two hundred officers of mark in the power of the conqueror, signalized that day!"

Results.

Ulm, Landau, Treves, and Traerbach surrendered to the allies before the close of the year. Bavaria submitted to the Emperor, and the Hungarians laid down their arms. Germany was completely delivered from France, and the military ascendency of the arms of the allies was completely established. Throughout the rest of the war Louis fought only in defence. Blenheim had dissipated forever his once proud visions of almost universal conquest.

[In 1704, the troubles in Hungary increase; the Czar of Russia takes Dorpat, Norva, and gains all Ingria; Galland translates the *Thousand and One Nights* into French; the first newspaper (the *Boston News Letter*) appears in the United States. In 1705, the Earl of Peterborough and Sir Cloudesley Shovel take a strong armament to Spain. In 1706, Marlborough wins a victory at Ramillies which is followed by the conquest of all the Netherlands; the French lose all their Italian conquests. In 1707, Scotland unites with England, and the first united Parliament of Great

First newspaper in the United States.

Britain meets; the royal veto is exercised for the last time in England; Bohemia obtains a seat in the Diet; the Jesuits are expelled from Holland; and Aurungzebe dies and the Mogul dynasty decays. In 1708, the French are defeated at Oudenarde; Lille is captured and the whole of Flanders submits. The Emperor takes the Duchy of Mantua; Charles XII. invades Russia, and turns aside into the Ukraine on promise of help from Mazeppa; the Whigs expel the Tories from power; and Mrs. Masham displaces the Duchess of Marlborough in Queen Anne's favor. In 1709, Tournay and Malplaquet are taken by Marlborough and Prince Eugene, and Mons surrenders. Charles XII. is crushed by the Russians. Russian prisoners are first exiled to Siberia.]

The Mogul dynasty decays.

Russian prisoners first exiled to Siberia.

THE BATTLE OF PULTOWA

(A.D. 1709)

E. S. CREASY

A CENTURY and a half have hardly elapsed since Russia was first recognized as a member of the drama of modern European history—previous to the battle of Pultowa, Russia played no part. Charles V. and his great rival, our Elizabeth and her adversary Philip of Spain, the Guises, Sully, Richelieu, Cromwell, De Witt, William of Orange, and the other leading spirits of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, thought no more about the Muscovite Czar than we now think about the King of Timbuctoo. Even as late as 1735, Lord Bolingbroke, in his admirable *Letters of History*, speaks of the history of the Muscovites as having no relation to the knowledge which a practical English statesman ought to acquire. It may be doubted whether a cabinet council often takes place now in our Foreign Office without Russia being uppermost in every English statesman's thought.

Insignificant position of Russia in Europe.

But, though Russia remained thus long unheeded among her snows, there was a North-

ern power, the influence of which was acknowledged in the principal European quarrels, and whose good will was sedulously courted by many of the boldest chiefs and ablest counsellors of the leading states. This was Sweden; Sweden, on whose ruins Russia has arisen, but whose ascendency over her semi-barbarous neighbor was complete, until the fatal battle that now forms our subject. Importance of Sweden.

As early as 1542 France had sought the alliance of Sweden to aid her in her struggle against Charles V. And the name of Gustavus Adolphus is of itself sufficient to remind us that in the great contest for religious liberty, of which Germany was for thirty years the arena, it was Sweden that rescued the falling cause of Protestantism, and it was Sweden that principally dictated the remodelling of the European state-system at the Peace of Westphalia.

From the proud pre-eminence in which the valor of the "Lion of the North," and of Torstenston, Bannier, Wrangel, and the other generals of Gustavus, guided by the wisdom of Oxenstiern, had placed Sweden, the defeat of Charles XII. at Pultowa hurled her down at once and forever. Her efforts during the wars of the French Revolution to assume a leading part in European politics met with instant discomfiture, and almost provoked derision. But the Sweden whose sceptre was bequeathed to Christiana, and whose alliance Possessions of Sweden.

Cromwell valued so highly, was a different power to the Sweden of the present day. Finland, Ingria, Livonia, Esthonia, Carelia, and other districts east of the Baltic, then were Swedish provinces; and the possession of Pomerania, Rugen, and Bremen, made her an important member of the Germanic empire. These territories are now all reft from her and the most valuable of them form the staple of her victorious rival's strength.

Significance of Russia's triumph.

The decisive triumph of Russia over Sweden at Pultowa was therefore all-important to the world, on account of what it overthrew as well as for what it established; and it is the more deeply interesting because it was not merely the crisis of a struggle between two states, but it was a trial of strength between two great races of mankind. In the long and varied conflicts between them, the Germanic race had, before Pultowa, almost always maintained a superiority. With the single but important exception of Poland, no Slavonic state had made any considerable figure in history before the time when Peter the Great won his great victory over the Swedish king.

Sweden's rise and fall.

Whatever may have been the amount of national injuries that she sustained from Swede, from Tartar, or from Pole in the ages of her weakness, she has certainly retaliated tenfold during the century and a half of her strength. Her rapid transition at the commencement of that period from being the prey of every con-

queror to being the conqueror of all with whom she comes into contact, to being the oppressor instead of the oppressed, is almost without a parallel in the history of nations. It was the work of a single ruler; who, himself without education, promoted science and literature among barbaric millions; who gave them fleets, commerce, arts, and arms; who, at Pultowa, taught them to face and beat the previously invincible Swedes; and who made stubborn valor and implicit subordination from that time forth the distinguishing characteristics of the Russian soldiery, which had before his time been a mere disorderly and irresolute rabble.

Russia the work of a single ruler.

Peter was brought up among barbarians and barbaric ignorance. He strove to remedy this, when a grown man, by leaving all the temptations to idleness and sensuality which his court offered, and by seeking instruction abroad. He labored with his own hand as a common artisan in Holland and England, that he might return and teach his subjects how ships, commerce, and civilization could be acquired.

Peter the Great.

In considering the effects of the overthrow of the Swedish arms sustained at Pultowa, and in speculating on the probable consequences that would have followed if the invaders had been successful, we must not only bear in mind the wretched state in which Peter found Russia at his accession, compared with her present

grandeur, but we must also keep in view the fact that, at the time when Pultowa was fought, his reforms were yet incomplete, and his new institutions immature. He had broken up the Old Russia; and the New Russia, which he ultimately created, was still in embryo. Had he been crushed at Pultowa, his immense labors would have been buried with him, and (to use the words of Voltaire) "the most extensive empire in the world would have relapsed into the chaos from which it had been so lately taken." It is this fact that makes the repulse of Charles XII. the critical point in the fortunes of Russia.

A critical moment.

Peter had wisely abolished the old, regular troops of the Empire, the Strelitzes; but the forces which he had raised in their stead on a new and foreign plan, and principally officered with foreigners, had, before the Swedish invasion, given no proof that they could be relied on. In numerous encounters with the Swedes, Peter's soldiery had run like sheep before inferior numbers. Great discontent, also, had been excited among all classes of the community by the arbitrary changes which their great Emperor introduced, many of which clashed with the most cherished national prejudices of his subjects. A career of victory and prosperity had not yet raised Peter above the reach of that disaffection, nor had superstitious obedience to the Czar yet become the characteristic of the

Peter's soldiery.

Muscovite mind. The victorious occupation of Moscow by Charles XII. would have quelled the Russian nation as effectually as had been the case when Batou Kahn, and other ancient invaders, captured the capital of primitive Muscovy. How little such a triumph could effect toward subduing modern Russia, the fate of Napoleon demonstrated at once and forever.

Charles XII.

The character of Charles XII. has been a favorite theme with historians, moralists, philosophers, and poets. But it is his military conduct during the campaign in Russia that alone requires comment here. After making all allowances, we must admit the force of Napoleon's strictures on Charles's tactics, and own that his judgment, though severe, is correct, when he pronounces that the Swedish King, unlike his great predecessor, Gustavus, knew nothing of the art of war and was nothing more than a brave and intrepid soldier. Such, however, was not the light in which Charles was regarded by his contemporaries at the commencement of his Russian expedition. His numerous victories, his daring and resolute spirit, combined with the ancient renown of the Swedish arms, then filled all Europe with admiration and anxiety. As Johnson expresses it, his name was then one at which the world grew pale. Even Louis le Grand earnestly solicited his assistance; and our own Marlborough, then in the full career of his

Desire for his alliance.

victories, was specially sent by the English court to the camp of Charles, to propitiate the hero of the North in favor of the cause of the allies, and to prevent the Swedish sword from being flung into the scales in the French King's favor. But Charles at that time was solely bent on dethroning the sovereign of Russia, as he had already dethroned the sovereign of Poland, and all Europe fully believed that he would entirely crush the Czar, and dictate conditions of peace in the Kremlin. Charles himself looked on success as a matter of certainty, and the romantic extravagance of his views was continually increasing. "One year, he thought, would suffice for the conquest of Russia. The court of Rome was next to feel his vengeance, as the Pope had dared to oppose the concession of religious liberty to the Silesian Protestants. No enterprise at that time appeared impossible to him. He had even despatched several officers privately into Asia and Egypt, to take plans of the towns, and to examine into the strength and resources of those countries."*

Charles's ambitions.

Napoleon thus epitomizes the earlier operations of Charles's invasion of Russia:

"That Prince set out from his camp at Aldstadt, near Leipsic, in September, 1707, at the head of 45,000 men, and traversed Poland; 20,000 men, under Count Lewenhaupt, disembarked at Riga; and 15,000 were in Finland.

Napoleon on Charles's invasion of Russia.

* Crichton's *Scandinavia.*

He was, therefore, in a condition to have brought together 80,000 of the best troops in the world. He left 10,000 men at Warsaw to guard King Stanislaus, and, in January, 1708, arrived at Grodno, where he wintered. In June, he crossed the forest of Minsk, and presented himself before Borisov; forced the Russian army, which occupied the left bank of the Beresina; defeated 20,000 Russians who were strongly intrenched behind marshes; passed the Borysthenes at Mohilov, and vanquished a corps of 16,000 Muscovites near Smolensko on the 22d of September. He was now advanced to the confines of Lithuania, and was about to enter Russia proper: the Czar, alarmed at his approach, made him proposals of peace. Up to this time all his movements were conformable to rule, and his communications were well secured. He was master of Poland and Riga, and only ten days' march distant from Moscow; and it is probable that he would have reached that capital, had he not quitted the high road, thither, and, directed his steps toward the Ukraine, in order to form a junction with Mazeppa, who brought him only 6,000 men. By this movement, his line of operations, beginning at Sweden, exposed his flank to Russia for a distance of four hundred leagues, and he was unable to protect it, or to receive either reinforcements or assistance."

His advantages and error.

The Czar had collected an army of about

The Czar's army.

100,000 effective men; and though the Swedes, in the beginning of the invasion, were successful in every encounter, the Russian troops were gradually acquiring discipline; and Peter and his officers were learning generalship from their victors. When Lewenhaupt, in the October of 1708, was striving to join Charles in the Ukraine, the Czar suddenly attacked him near the Borysthenes with an overwhelming force of 50,000 Russians. Lewenhaupt fought bravely for three days, and succeeded in cutting his way through the enemy with about 4,000 of his men to where Charles awaited him near the river Desna; but upward of 8,000 Swedes fell in these battles; Lewenhaupt's cannon and ammunition were abandoned; and the whole of his important convoy of provisions, on which Charles and his half-starved troops were relying, fell into the enemy's hands. Charles was compelled to remain in the Ukraine during the winter; but in the spring of 1709 he moved forward toward Moscow, and invested the fortified town of Pultowa, on the river Vorksla: a place where the Czar had stored up large supplies of provisions and military stores, and which commanded the passes leading toward Moscow. The possession of this place would have given Charles the means of supplying all the wants of his suffering army, and would also have furnished him with a secure base of operations for his advance against the Musco-

Charles besieges Pultowa.

vite capital. The siege was therefore hotly pressed by the Swedes; the garrison resisted obstinately; and the Czar, feeling the importance of saving the town, advanced, in June, to its relief, at the head of an army from fifty to sixty thousand strong.

Peter's generalship.

Both sovereigns now prepared for the general action, which each saw to be inevitable, and which each felt would be decisive of his own and of his country's destiny. The Czar, by some masterly manœuvres, crossed the Vorksla, and posted his army on the same side of the river with the besiegers, but a little higher up. The Vorksla falls into the Borysthenes about fifteen leagues below Pultowa, and the Czar arranged his forces in two lines, stretching from one river toward the other, so that if the Swedes attacked him and were repulsed, they would be driven backward into the acute angle formed by the two streams at their junction. He fortified these lines with several redoubts lined with heavy artillery; and his troops, both horse and foot, were in the best possible condition, and amply provided with stores and ammunition.

Preparations for action.

Charles's forces were about 24,000 strong. But not more than half of these were Swedes: so much had battle, famine, fatigue, and the deadly frosts of Russia thinned the gallant bands which the Swedish King and Lewenhaupt had led to the Ukraine. The other 12,000 men, under Charles, were Cossacks and Wallachi-

ans, who had joined him in the country. On hearing that the Czar was about to attack him, he deemed that his dignity required that he himself should be the assailant; and, leading his army out of their intrenched lines before the town, he advanced with them against the Russian redoubts.

Valor of the Swedes.

He had been severely wounded in the foot in a skirmish a few days before, and was borne in a litter along the ranks into the thick of the fight. Notwithstanding the fearful disparity of numbers and disadvantage of position, the Swedes never showed their ancient valor more nobly than on that dreadful day. Nor do their Cossack and Wallachian allies seem to have been unworthy of fighting side by side with Charles's veterans. Two of the Russian redoubts were actually entered, and the Swedish infantry began to raise the cry of victory. But, on the other side, neither general nor soldiers flinched in their duty. The Russian cannonade and musketry were kept up; fresh masses of defenders were poured into the fortifications, and at length the exhausted remnants of the Swedish columns recoiled from the blood-stained redoubts. Then the Czar led the infantry and cavalry of his first line outside the works, drew them up steadily and skilfully, and the action was renewed along the whole fronts of the two armies on the open ground. Each sovereign exposed his life freely in the world-

Their repulse.

winning battle, and on each side the troops fought obstinately and eagerly under their ruler's eye. It was not till two hours from the commencement of the action that, overpowered by numbers, the hitherto invincible Swedes gave way. All was then hopeless disorder and irreparable rout. Driven downward to where the rivers join, the fugitive Swedes surrendered to their victorious pursuers, or perished in the waters of the Borysthenes. Only a few hundred swam that river with their King and the Cossack Mazeppa, and escaped into the Turkish territory. Nearly 10,000 lay killed and wounded in the redoubts and on the field of battle.

Their irreparable rout.

In the joy of his heart the Czar exclaimed, when the strife was over, "That the son of the morning had fallen from heaven, and that the foundation of St. Petersburg at length stood firm." Even on that battlefield, near the Ukraine, the Russian Emperor's first thoughts were of conquests and aggrandizement on the Baltic. The peace of Nystadt, which transferred the fairest provinces of Sweden to Russia, ratified the judgment of battle which was pronounced at Pultowa. Attacks on Turkey and Persia by Russia commenced almost directly after that victory. And though the Czar failed in his first attempts against the Sultan, the successors of Peter have, one and all, carried on a uniformly aggressive and successive system of policy against Turkey, and against

The Peace of Nystadt.

other States, Asiatic as well as European, which have had the misfortune of having Russia for a neighbor.

[Peter reconquers Poland in 1709, and all the Swedish possessions in Germany are threatened by Russia, Prussia, Denmark, and Saxony. In 1710, Peter conquers Riga, Livonia, Esthonia, etc.; Charles XII. induces the Sultan to declare war against Russia; Rakoksy, finally defeated at Romhany, withdraws from Hungary; Colonel Nicholson takes the French settlement of Port Royal (in Acadia) and calls it Annapolis. The South Sea Company is organized. In 1711, the Emperor dies, and is succeeded by the Archduke Charles; Marlborough is recalled; the Rakoksy revolt is ended by the Treaty of Szathmar. In 1712, diplomats meet at Utrecht. The Duke of Burgundy, his wife and son die, and the Danes conquer the Swedish duchies of Bremen and Verden. In 1713, the Russians defeat the Swedes, who, in turn, defeat the Danes; Pomerania is invaded by Denmark and Poland and Stettin occupied by Poland.]

The South Sea Company organized.

THE PEACE OF UTRECHT

(A.D. 1713)

FRANCOIS PIERRE GUILLAUME GUIZOT

QUEEN ANNE, wearied with the cupidity and haughtiness of the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, had given them notice to quit; the friends of the Duke had shared his fall, and the Tories succeeded the Whigs in power. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Harley, soon afterward Earl of Oxford, and the Secretary of State, St. John, who became Lord Bolingbroke, were inclined to peace. Advances were made in France. A French priest, Abbé Gautier, living in obscurity in England, arrived in Paris during January, 1711; he went to see M. de Torcy at Versailles. "Do you want peace?" said he. "I have come to bring you the means for treating for it, and concluding independently of the Hollanders, unworthy of the King's kindnesses and of the honor he has so often done them of applying to them to pacificate Europe." "To ask just then one of his Majesty's ministers if he desired peace," says Torcy, "was to ask a sick man suffering from

Fall of the Whigs.

Peace overtures.

a long and dangerous disease if he wants to be cured." Negotiations were secretly opened with the English cabinet. The Emperor Joseph had just died (April 17, 1711). He left none but daughters. From that moment Archduke Charles inherited the domains of the house of Austria, and aspired to the imperial crown; by giving him Spain, Europe re-established the monarchy of Charles V.; she saw the dangers into which she was being drawn by the resentments or short-sighted ambition of the triumvirate; she fell back upon the wise projects of William III. Holland had abandoned them; to England fell the honor of making them triumphant. She has often made war upon the Continent with indomitable obstinacy and perseverance; but at bottom and by the very force of circumstances England remains, as regards the affairs of Europe, an essentially pacific power. War brings her no advantage; she can not pretend to any territorial aggrandizement in Europe; it is the equilibrium between the continental powers that makes her strength, and her first interest was always to maintain it.

England the peace-maker of Europe.

The campaign of 1711 was everywhere insignificant. Negotiations were still going on with England, secretly and through subordinate agents: Ménager, member of the Board of Trade, for France; and for England, the poet, Prior, strongly attached to Harley. On the 29th of January, 1712, the general con-

Conferences are opened at Utrecht.

ferences were opened at Utrecht. The French had been anxious to avoid The Hague, dreading the obstinacy of Heinsius in favor of his former proposals. Preliminary points were already settled with England; enormous advantages were secured in America to English commerce, to which was ceded Newfoundland and all that France still possessed in Acadia; the general proposals had been accepted by Queen Anne and her ministers. In vain had the Hollanders and Prince Eugene made great efforts to modify them; St. John had dryly remarked that England had borne the greatest part in the burden of the war, and it was but just that she should direct the negotiations for peace. For five years past the United Provinces, exhausted by the length of hostilities, had constantly been defaulters in their engagements; it was proved to Prince Eugene that the imperial army had not been increased by two regiments in consequence of the war; the Emperor's ambassador, M. de Galas, displayed impertinence: he was forbidden to come to the court; in spite of the reserve imposed upon the English ministers by the strife of parties in a free country, their desire for peace was evident. The Queen had just ordered the creation of new peers in order to secure a majority of the Upper House in favor of a pacific policy.

England tired of war.

The bolts of Heaven were falling one after another upon the royal family of France.

Afflictions of Louis XIV.

On the 14th of April, 1711, Louis XIV. had lost by smallpox his son, the grand dauphin, a mediocre and submissive creature, ever the most humble subject of the King, at just fifty years of age. His eldest son, the Duke of Burgundy, devout, austere, and capable, the hope of good men and the terror of intriguers, had taken the rank of dauphin, and was seriously commencing his apprenticeship in government, when he was carried off on the 18th of February, 1712, by spotted fever (*rougeole pourprée*), six days after his wife, the charming Mary Adelaide of Savoy, the idol of the whole court, supremely beloved by the King, and by Mme. de Maintenon, who had brought her up; their son, the Duke of Brittany, four years old, died on the 8th of March; a child in the cradle, weakly and ill, the little Duke of Anjou, remained the only shoot of the elder branch of the Bourbons. Dismay seized upon all France; poison was spoken of; the Duke of Orleans was accused; it was necessary to have a post mortem examination; only the hand of God had left its traces. Europe in its turn was excited. If the little Duke of Anjou were to die, the crown of France reverted to Philip V. The Hollanders and the ambassadors of the Emperor Charles VI., recently crowned at Frankfort, insisted on the necessity of a formal renunciation. In accordance with the English ministers, Louis XIV. wrote to his grandson: "If gratitude and

Successive deaths of heirs.

Louis XIV.'s letter to Philip V.

affection toward your subjects are to you pressing reasons for remaining with them, I may say that you owe me the same sentiments; you owe them to your own house, to your country, before Spain. All that I can do for you is to leave you once more the choice, the necessity for concluding peace becoming every day more urgent."

The choice of Philip V. was made; he had already written to his grandfather to say that he would renounce all his rights of succession to the throne of France rather than give up the crown of Spain. This decision was solemnly enregistered by the Cortes. The English required that the Dukes of Berry and Orleans should likewise make renunciation of their rights to the crown of Spain. Negotiations were reopened, but war began again at the same time as the negotiations.

Negotiations again opened.

The King had given Villars the command of the army of Flanders. The Marshal went to Marly to receive his last orders. "You see my plight, Marshal," said Louis XIV. "There are few examples of what is my fate—to lose in the same week a grandson, a grandson's wife and their son, all of very great promise and very tenderly beloved. God is punishing me; I have well deserved it. But suspend we my griefs at my own domestic woes, and look we to what may be done to prevent those of the kingdom. If anything were to happen to the army you command, what would be your

idea of the course I should adopt as regards my person?" The Marshal hesitated. The King resumed: "This is what I think; you shall tell me your opinion afterward. I know the courtiers' line of argument; they nearly all wish me to retire to Blois, and not wait for the enemy's army to approach Paris, as it might do if mine were beaten. For my part I am aware that armies so considerable are never defeated to such an extent as to prevent the greater part of mine from retiring upon the Somme. I know that river; it is very difficult to cross; there are forts, too, which could be made strong. I should count upon getting to Péronne or St. Quentin, and there massing all the troops I had, making a last effort with you, and falling together, or saving the kingdom; I will never consent to let the enemy approach my capital."

The King's commands to Villars.

God was to spare Louis XIV. that crowning disaster reserved for other times; in spite of all his defaults and the culpable errors of his life and reign, Providence had given this old man, overwhelmed by so many reverses and sorrows, a truly royal soul, and that regard for his own greatness which set him higher as a king than he would have been as a man. "He had too proud a soul to descend lower than his misfortunes had brought him," says Montesquieu, "and he well knew that courage may right a crown and that infamy never does." On the 25th of May, the King secretly

informed his plenipotentiaries as well as his generals that the English were proposing to him a suspension of hostilities; and he added: "It is no longer a time for flattering the pride of the Hollanders, but, while we treat them in good faith, it must be with the dignity that becomes me." "A style differing from that of the conferences at The Hague and Gertruydenberg," is the remark made by M. de Torcy. That which the King's pride refused to the ill will of the Hollanders he granted to the good will of England. The day of the commencement of the armistice Dunkerque was put as guarantee into the hands of the English, who recalled their native regiments from the army of Prince Eugene; the King complained that they left him the auxiliary troops; the English ministers proposed to prolong the truce, promising to treat separately with France if the allies refused assent to the peace. The news received by Louis XIV. gave him assurance of better conditions than any one had dared to hope for.

The King maintains his dignity.

The armistice

Villars had not been able to prevent Prince Eugene from becoming master of Quesnoy on the 3d of July; the imperialists were already making preparations to invade France; in their army the causeway which connected Marchiennes with Landrecies was called the *Paris road*. The Marshal resolved to relieve Landrecies, and, having had bridges thrown over the Scheldt, he, on the 23d of July, 1712,

crossed the river between Bouchain and Denain; the latter little place was defended by the Duke of Albemarle, son of General Monk, with seventeen battalions of auxiliary troops in the pay of the allies; Lieutenant-General Albergotti, an experienced soldier, considered the undertaking perilous. "Go and lie down for an hour or two, M. d'Albergotti," said Villars; "to-morrow by three in the morning you shall know whether the enemy's intrenchments are as strong as you suppose." Prince Eugene was coming up by forced marches to relieve Denain, by falling on the rearguard of the French army. It was proposed to Villars to make fascines to fill up the fosses of Denain. "Do you suppose," said he, pointing to the enemy's army in the distance, "that those gentry will give us the time? Our fascines shall be the bodies of the first of our men who fall in the fosse."

Advance of Prince Eugene.

"There was not an instant, not a minute to lose" says the Marshal in his *Mémoires*. "I made my infantry march on four lines in the most beautiful order; as I entered the intrenchment at the head of the troops, I had not gone twenty paces when the Duke of Albemarle and six or seven of the Emperor's lieutenant-generals were at my horse's feet. I begged them to excuse me if present matters did not permit me to show them all the politeness I ought, but that the first of all was to provide for the safety of their persons."

Battle of Denain.

The enemy thought of nothing but flight; the bridges over the Scheldt broke down under the multitude of vehicles and horses; nearly all the defenders of Denain were taken or killed. Prince Eugene could not cross the river, watched as it was by French troops; he did not succeed in saving Marchiennes, which the Count of Broglie had been ordered to invest in the very middle of the action in front of Denain; the imperialists raised the siege of Landrecies, but without daring to attack Villars, reinforced by a few garrisons; the Marshal immediately invested Douai; on the 27th of August, the Emperor's troops who were defending one of the forts demanded a capitulation; the officers who went out asked for a delay of four days, so as to receive orders from Prince Eugene; the Marshal, who was in the trenches, called his grenadiers. "This is my council on such occasions," said he to the astonished imperialists. "My friends, these captains demand four days' time to receive orders from their general; what do you think?" "Leave it to us, Marshal," replied the grenadiers; "in a quarter of an hour we will slit their windpipes." "Gentlemen," said I to the officers, "they will do as they have said; so take your own course."

Prince Eugene baffled.

The garrison surrendered at discretion. Douai capitulated on the 8th of September; Le Quesnoy was taken on the 4th of October, and Bouchain on the 18th; Prince Eugene had

Surrender of Douai.

not been able to attempt anything; he fell back under the walls of Brussels. On the Rhine, on the Alps, in Spain, the French and Spanish armies had held the enemy in check. The French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht had recovered their courage. "We put on the face the Hollanders had at Gertruydenberg, and they put on ours," wrote the Cardinal de Polignac from Utrecht: "it is a complete turning of the tables." "Gentlemen, peace will be treated for among you, for you and without you," was the remark made to the Hollanders. Hereditary adversary of the Van Witts and their party, Heinsius had pursued the policy of William III. without the foresight and lofty views of William III.; he had not seen his way in 1709 to shaking off the yoke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene in order to take the initiative in a peace necessary for Europe; in 1712, he submitted to the will of Harley and St. John, thus losing the advantages of the powerful mediatorial position which the United Provinces had owed to the eminent men successively intrusted with their government. Henceforth Holland remained a free and prosperous country, respected and worthy of her independence, but her political influence and importance in Europe were at an end.

Holland snubbed.

The battle of Denain and its happy consequences hastened the conclusion of the negotiations; the German princes began to split

up; the King of Prussia, Frederic William I., who had recently succeeded his father, was the first to escape from the Emperor's yoke. Lord Bolingbroke put the finishing stroke, at Versailles, to the conditions of a general peace; the month of April was the extreme limit fixed by England for her allies; on the 11th, peace was signed between France, England, the United Provinces, Portugal, the King of Prussia, and the Duke of Savoy. Louis XIV. recovered Lille, Aire, Béthune, and St. Venant; he strengthened with a few places the barrier of the Hollanders; he likewise granted to the Duke of Savoy a barrier on the Italian slope of the Alps; he recognized Queen Anne, at the same time exiling from France the Pretender, James III., whom he had but lately proclaimed with so much flourish of trumpets; and he razed the fortifications of Dunkerque. England kept Gibraltar and Minorca; Sicily was assigned to the Duke of Savoy. France recognized the King of Prussia. The peace was an honorable and an unexpected one, after so many disasters; the King of Spain held out for some time; he wanted to set up an independent principality for the Princess des Ursins, *camerera mayor* to the Queen, his wife, an able, courageous, and clever intriguer, all-powerful at court, who had done good service to the interests of France; he could not obtain any dismemberment of the United Provinces; and at last Philip V., in his turn,

Peace is signed.

Terms of the Treaty.

signed. The Emperor and the Empire alone remained aloof from the general peace. War recommenced in Germany and on the Rhine. Villars carried Spires and Kaiserlautern. He laid siege to Landau. His lieutenants were uneasy. "Gentlemen," said Villars, "I have heard the Prince of Condé say that the enemy should be feared at a distance, and despised at close quarters." Landau capitulated on the 20th of August; on the 30th of September Villars entered Friburg; the citadel surrendered on the 13th of November; the imperialists began to make pacific overtures; the two generals, Villars and Prince Eugene, were charged with the negotiations.

War begins again.

"I arrived at Rastadt on the 26th of November in the afternoon," writes Villars in his *Mémoires,* "and the Prince of Savoy half an hour after me. The moment I knew he was in the courtyard, I went to the top of the steps to meet him, apologizing to him on the ground that a lame man could not go down; we embraced with the feelings of an old and true friendship which long wars and various engagements had not altered." The two plenipotentiaries were headstrong in their discussions. "If we begin war again," said Villars, "where will you find money?" "It is true that we haven't any," rejoined the Prince; "but there is still some in the Empire." "Poor States of the Empire!" I exclaimed; "your advice is not asked about beginning the dance;

Meeting of Villars and Eugene.

yet you must, of course, follow the leaders." Peace was at last signed, on the 6th of March, 1714: France kept Landau and Fort Louis; she restored Spires, Breisach, and Friburg. The Emperor refused to recognize Philip V., but he accepted the *status quo;* the crown of Spain remained definitively with the house of Bourbon; it had cost men and millions enough; for an instant the very foundations of order in Europe had seemed to be upset; the old French monarchy had been threatened; it had recovered of itself and by its own resources, sustaining single-handed the struggle which was pulling down all Europe in coalition against it; it had obtained conditions which restored its frontiers to the limits of the peace of Ryswick; but it was exhausted, gasping at its wits' end for men and money; absolute power had obtained from national pride the last possible efforts, but it had played itself out in the struggle; the confidence of the country was shaken; it had been seen what dangers the will of a single man had made the nation incur; the tempest was already gathering within men's souls. The habit of respect, the memory of past glories, the personal majesty of Louis XIV. still kept up about the aged King the deceitful appearances of uncontested power and sovereign authority; the long decadence of his great-grandson's reign was destined to complete its ruin.

Spain remains with the Bourbons.

Deceitful appearances.

[In 1714, France and the Emperor make peace at Rastadt, by which the Emperor receives the Spanish dominions of Naples, the Milanese Sardinia, Mantua and Breisach. France gives up all territory east of the Rhine; but the Emperor does not recognize Philip V. as King of Spain. By another treaty with Bavaria, France promises to support the Elector should he become a candidate for the Empire. The Duke of Berwick storms Barcelona. Alberoni becomes the chief minister of Spain. Charles XII. returns home from Turkey and an alliance is formed against him by Prussia, Saxony, Denmark and Russia. In 1715, Louis XIV. dies. His will is set aside and the Duke of Orleans becomes Regent. The Danes, by selling the Duchies of Bremen and Verden to Hanover, gain it as an ally against Sweden. The Venetians are driven out of the Morea by the Turks. By the Barrier Treaty the Emperor receives the Spanish Netherlands. The Old Pretender orders the Earl of Mar to start a rebellion in his interests in Scotland.]

Death of Louis XIV.

THE FIRST JACOBITE REBELLION

(A.D. 1715)

TOBIAS SMOLLETT

BY this time the rebellion was actually begun in Scotland. The dissensions occasioned in that country by the union had never been wholly appeased. Even since the Queen's death, addresses were prepared in different parts of Scotland against the union, which was deemed a national grievance; and the Jacobites did not fail to encourage this aversion. Though the hopes of dissolving that treaty were baffled by the industry and other arts of the revolutioners, who secured a majority of Whigs in Parliament, they did not lay aside their designs of attempting something of consequence in favor of the Pretender; but maintained a correspondence with the malcontents of England, a great number of whom were driven by apprehension, hard usage, and resentment, into a system of politics, which otherwise they would not have espoused. The Tories, finding themselves totally excluded from any share in the government and legislature and exposed to the insolence and fury of

Unpopularity of the Union.

Intrigues of the Jacobites.

a faction which they despised, began to wish in earnest for a revolution. Some of them held private consultations, and communicated with the Jacobites, who conveyed their sentiments to the Chevalier de St. George, with such exaggerations as were dictated by their own eagerness and extravagance. They assured the Pretender that the nation was wholly disaffected to the new government; and, indeed, the clamors, tumults, and conversation of the people in general countenanced this assertion. They promised to take arms, without further delay, in his favor; and engaged that the Tories should join them at his first landing in Great Britain. They, therefore, besought him to come over with all possible expedition, declaring that his appearance would produce an immediate revolution. The Chevalier resolved to take the advantage of this favorable disposition. He had recourse to the French King, who had always been the refuge of his family.

Louis helps the Pretender.

Louis favored him in secret; and, notwithstanding his late engagements with England, cherished the ambition of raising him to the throne of Great Britain. He supplied him privately with sums of money, to prepare a small armament in the port of Havre, which was equipped in the name of Depine d'Anicaut; and, without all doubt, his design was to assist him more effectually, in proportion as the English should manifest their attachment to the house of Stuart. The Duke of Ormond

and Lord Bolingbroke, who had retired to France, finding themselves condemned unheard, and attainted, engaged in the service of the Chevalier, and corresponded with the Tories of England.

All these intrigues and machinations were discovered and communicated to the court of London by the Earl of Stair, who then resided as English ambassador at Paris. He detected the Chevalier's scheme while it was yet in embryo, and gave such early notice of it as enabled the King of Great Britain to take effectual measures for defeating the design. All the Pretender's interest in France expired with Louis XIV. At his death, which happened on the first day of September, the Regency of the kingdom devolved to the Duke of Orleans, who adopted a new system of politics, and had already entered into engagements with the King of Great Britain. Instead of assisting the Pretender, he amused his agents with mysterious and equivocal expressions, calculated to frustrate the design of the expedition. Nevertheless, the more violent part of the Jacobites in Great Britain believed he was at bottom a friend to their cause, and depended upon him for succor. They even extorted from him a sum of money by dint of importunities, and some arms; but the vessel was shipwrecked, and the cargo lost upon the coast of Scotland.

Lord Stair's vigilance.

Death of Louis XIV.

The partisans of the Pretender had pro-

ceeded too far to retreat with safety; and, therefore, resolved to try their fortune in the field. The Earl of Mar repaired to the Highlands, where he held consultations with the Marquises of Huntley and Tullibardine, the Earls Marischal and Southesk, the generals Hamilton and Gordon, with the chiefs of the Jacobite clans. Then he assembled three hundred of his own vassals; proclaiming the Pretender at Castletown, and set up his standard at Brae-Mar on the 6th day of September. By this time the Earls of Home, Wintoun, and Kinnoul, Lord Deskford, and Lockhart of Carnwath, with other persons suspected of disaffection to the present government, were committed prisoners to the castle of Edinburgh; and Major-General Whetham marched with the regular troops which were in that kingdom to secure the bridge at Stirling. Before these precautions were taken, two vessels had arrived at Arbroath from Havre, with arms, ammunition, and a great number of officers, who assured the Earl of Mar that the Pretender would soon be with them in person. The death of Louis XIV. struck a general damp upon their spirits; but they laid their account with being joined by a powerful body in England. The Earl of Mar, by letters and messages, pressed the Chevalier to come over without further delay. He, in the meantime, assumed the title of lieutenant-general of the Pretender's forces, and published a declara-

Mar sets up the Pretender's standard.

Arrival of French aid.

tion exhorting the people to take arms for their lawful sovereign. This was followed by a shrewd manifesto, explaining the national grievances, and assuring the people of redress. Some of his partisans attempted to surprise the castle of Edinburgh; but were prevented by the vigilance and activity of Colonel Stuart, lieutenant-governor of that fortress. The Duke of Argyle set out for Scotland, as commander-in-chief of the forces in North Britain.

Mar's manifesto.

In England, the practices of the Jacobites did not escape the notice of the ministry. Lieutenant-Colonel Paul was imprisoned in the gate-house for enlisting men in the service of the Pretender. The titular Duke of Powis was committed to the Tower: Lords Lansdowne and Duplin were taken into custody; and a warrant was issued for apprehending the Earl of Jersey. The King desired the consent of the Lower House to seize and detain Sir William Wyndham, Sir John Packington, Mr. Edward Harvey of Combe, Mr. Thomas Forster, Mr. John Anstis, and Mr. Corbet Kynaston, who were members of the House, and suspected of favoring the invasion. The Commons unanimously agreed to the proposal, and presented an address, signifying their approbation. Harvey and Anstis were immediately secured. Forster, with the assistance of some popish lords, assembled a body of men in Northumberland: Sir John Packington be-

Arrests in England.

Loyalty of the Commons.

ing examined before the council, was dismissed for want of evidence: Mr. Kynaston absconded: Sir William Wyndham was seized at his own house in Somersetshire, by Colonel Huske and a messenger, who secured his papers: he found means, however, to escape from them; but afterward surrendered himself, and, having been examined at the council-board, was committed to the Tower. His father-in-law, the Duke of Somerset, offered to become bound for his appearance; and being rejected as bail, expressed his resentment so warmly, that the King thought proper to remove him from the office of Master of the Horse.

Jacobites in the West.

The friends of the house of Stuart were very numerous in the western counties, and began to make preparations for an insurrection. They had concealed some arms and artillery at Bath, and formed a design to surprise Bristol; but they were betrayed and discovered by the emissaries of the Government, which baffled all their schemes, and apprehended every person of consequence suspected of attachment to that cause. The University of Oxford felt the rod of power on that occasion. Major-General Pepper, with a strong detachment of dragoons, took possession of the city at daybreak, declaring he would use military execution on all students who should presume to appear without the limits of their respective colleges; and Handasyde's regiment of foot was afterward quartered in Oxford, to over-

Dragoons at Oxford.

awe the university. The ministry found it more difficult to suppress the insurgents in the northern counties. In the month of October, the Earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forster took the field with a body of horse, and, being joined by some gentlemen from the borders of Scotland, proclaimed the Pretender in Warkworth, Morpeth, and Alnwick. The first design was to seize the town of Newcastle, in which they had many friends; but they found the gates shut upon them, and retired to Hexham; while General Carpenter, having assembled a body of dragoons, resolved to march from Newcastle, and attack them before they should be reinforced. The rebels retiring northward to Woller, were joined by two hundred Scottish horse under the Lord Viscount Kenmuir, and the Earls of Carnwath and Wintoun, who had set up the Pretender's standard at Moffat, and proclaimed him in different parts of Scotland. The rebels thus reinforced advanced to Kelso, having received advice that they would be joined by Mackintosh, who had crossed the Forth with a body of Highlanders.

Progress in the North.

By this time the Earl of Mar was at the head of ten thousand men well armed. He had secured the pass of the Tay at Perth, where his headquarters were established, and made himself master of the whole fruitful province of Fife, and all the seacoast on that side of the Frith of Edinburgh. He selected

Mar's position.

two thousand five hundred men, commanded by Brigadier Mackintosh, to make a descent upon the Lothian side, and join the Jacobites in that county. Boats were assembled for this purpose; and, notwithstanding all the precautions that could be taken by the King's ships in the Frith to prevent the design, above fifteen hundred chosen men made good their passage in the night, and landed on the coast of Lothian, having crossed an arm of the sea about sixteen miles broad, in open boats, that passed through the midst of the King's cruisers. The Earl of Mar, in the meantime, marched from Perth to Dumblane, as if he had intended to cross the Forth at Stirling-bridge; but his real design was to divert the Duke of Argyle from attacking his detachment which had landed in Lothian. So far the scheme succeeded. The Duke, who had assembled some troops in Lothian, returned to Stirling with the utmost expedition, after having secured Edinburgh and obliged Mackintosh to abandon his design on that city. This partisan had actually taken possession of Leith, from whence he retired to Seaton-house, near Preston-pans, which he fortified in such a manner that he could not be forced without artillery. Here he remained until he received an order across the Frith, from the Earl of Mar, to join Lord Kenmuir and the English at Kelso, for which place he immediately began his march, and reached it on the 22d day

Invasion of Lothian.

of October, though a good number of his men had deserted on the route.

The Lord Kenmuir, with the Earls of Wintoun, Nithsdale, and Carnwath, the Earl of Derwentwater, and Mr. Forster, with the English insurgents, arriving at the same time, a council of war was immediately called. They took the route to Jedburgh, where they resolved to leave Carpenter on one side, and penetrate into England by the western border. The Highlanders declared they would not quit their own country; means, however, were found to prevail upon one-half of them to advance, while the rest returned to the Highlands. At Brampton, Forster opened his commission of general, and proclaimed the Pretender. They continued their march to Penrith, where the sheriff, with Lord Lonsdale and the Bishop of Carlisle, had assembled the whole posse-comitatus of Cumberland, amounting to twelve thousand men, who dispersed with the utmost precipitation at the approach of the rebels. From Penrith, Forster proceeded by the way of Kendal and Lancaster to Preston, from whence Stanhope's regiment of dragoons, and another of militia, immediately retired; so that he took possession of the place without resistance. General Willis marched against the enemy with six regiments of horse and dragoons, and one battalion of foot commanded by Colonel Preston. They had advanced to the bridge of Ribble

The Council of War.

Forster reaches Preston.

before Forster received intelligence of their approach. He forthwith began to raise barricadoes, and put the place in a posture of defence. On the 12th day of November, the town was briskly attacked in two different places; but the King's troops met with a very warm reception, and were repulsed with considerable loss. Next day General Carpenter arrived with a reinforcement of three regiments of dragoons; and the rebels were invested on all sides. The Highlanders declared they would make a sally sword in hand, and either cut their way through the King's troops, or perish in the attempt; but they were overruled. Forster sent Colonel Oxburgh with a trumpet to General Willis, to propose a capitulation. The Scottish noblemen persuaded the Highlanders to accept the terms that were offered. They accordingly laid down their arms, and were put under a strong guard. All the noblemen and leaders were secured. Major Nairn, Captain Lockhart, Captain Shaftoe, and Ensign Erskine, were tried by a court-martial, as deserters, and executed. Lord Charles Murray, son of the Duke of Athol, was likewise condemned for the same crime, but reprieved. The common men were imprisoned at Chester and Liverpool, the noblemen and considerable officers were sent to London, conveyed through the streets pinioned like malefactors, and committed to the Tower and Newgate.

The Highlanders capitulate.

The day on which the rebels surrendered at Preston was remarkable for the battle of Dumblane, fought between the Duke of Argyle and the Earl of Mar. This nobleman had retreated to his camp at Perth, when he understood the Duke was returned from Lothian to Stirling. But being now joined by the northern clans commanded by the Earl of Seaforth, and those of the west under General Gordon, who had signalized himself in the service of the Czar of Muscovy, he resolved to pass the Forth, in order to join his southern friends, that they might march together in England. The Duke of Argyle, apprised of his intention, and being joined by some regiments of dragoons, from Ireland, determined to give him battle in the neighborhood of Dumblane. On the twelfth day of the month, Argyle passed the Forth at Stirling, and encamped with his left at the village of Dumblane, and his right toward Sheriffmoor. The Earl of Mar advanced within two miles of his camp, and remained till daybreak in order of battle; his army consisting of nine thousand effective men, cavalry as well as infantry. In the morning, the Duke, understanding they were in motion, drew up his forces, which did not exceed three thousand five hundred men, on the heights to the northeast of Dumblane; but he was outflanked both on the right and left. The clans that formed part of the centre and right wing of the enemy,

Battle of Dumblane.

Argyle passes the Forth.

Charge of the Clans.

with Glengary and Clanronald at their head, charged the left of the King's army sword in hand, with such impetuosity, that in seven minutes both horse and foot were totally routed with great slaughter; and General Whetham, who commanded them, fled at full gallop to Stirling, where he declared that the royal army was totally defeated. In the meantime, the Duke of Argyle, who commanded in person on the right, attacked the left of the enemy, at the head of Stair's and Evans's dragoons, and drove them two miles before him, as far as the water of Allan; yet in that space they wheeled about, and attempted to rally ten times; so that he was obliged to press them hard, that they might not recover from their confusion. Brigadier Wightman followed, in order to sustain him, with three battalions of infantry; while the victorious right wing of the rebels having pursued Whetham a considerable way, returned to the field, and formed in the rear of Wightman, to the amount of five thousand men. The Duke of Argyle, returning from the pursuit, joined Wightman, who had faced about, and taken possession of some inclosures and mud walls, in expectation of being attacked. In this posture both armies fronted each other till the evening, when the Duke drew off toward Dumblane, and the rebels retired to Ardoch, without mutual molestation. Next day the Duke, marching back to the field of battle,

Both armies retire.

carried off the wounded, with four pieces of cannon left by the army, and retreated to Stirling. Few prisoners were taken on either side: the number of the slain might be about five hundred of each army, and both generals claimed the victory. The Marquis of Huntley and the Earl of Seaforth were obliged to quit the rebel army, in order to defend their own territories; and in a little time submitted to King George: a good number of the Frazers declared with their chief against the Pretender: the Marquis of Tullibardine withdrew from the army, to cover his own country: and the clans, seeing no likelihood of another action, began to disperse, according to custom.

Argyle retreats to Stirling.

Dispersal of the clans.

The government was now in a condition to send strong reinforcements to Scotland. Six thousand men that were claimed of the States-General, by virtue of the treaty, landed in England, and began their march for Edinburgh: General Cadogan set out for the same place, together with Brigadier Petit, and six other engineers; and a train of artillery was shipped at the Tower for that country, the Duke of Argyle resolving to drive the Earl of Mar out of Perth, to which town he had retired with the remains of his forces. The Pretender having been amused with the hope of seeing the whole kingdom of England rise up as one man in his behalf, and the Duke of Ormond having made a fruitless voyage to the western coast, to try the disposition of the peo-

The Pretender arrives in Scotland.

ple, he was now convinced of the vanity of his expectation in that quarter; and, as he knew not what other course to take, he resolved to hazard his person among his friends in Scotland, at a time when his affairs in that kingdom were absolutely desperate. From Bretagne he posted through part of France in disguise, and embarking in a small vessel at Dunkirk, hired for that purpose, arrived on the 22d day of December at Peterhead with six gentlemen in his retinue, one of whom was the Marquis of Tinmouth, son to the Duke of Berwick. He passed through Aberdeen, incognito, to Feterosse, where he was met by the Earls of Mar and Marischal, and about thirty noblemen and gentlemen of the first quality. Here he was solemnly proclaimed: his declaration, dated at Commercy, was printed and circulated through all the parts of that neighborhood; and he received addresses from the Episcopal clergy, and the laity of that communion in the diocese of Aberdeen. On the 5th day of January, he made his public entry into Dundee; and on the seventh arrived at Scone, where he seemed determined to stay until the ceremony of his coronation should be performed. From thence he made an excursion to Perth, where he reviewed his forces. Then he formed a regular council; and published six proclamations. He made a pathetic speech in a grand council, at which all the chiefs of his party assisted. They determined,

His proclamation.

however, to abandon the enterprise, as the King's army was reinforced by the Dutch auxiliaries, and they themselves were not only reduced to a small number, but likewise destitute of money, arms, ammunition, forage, and provision; for the Duke of Argyle had taken possession of Burnt-Island, and transported a detachment to Fife, so as to cut off Mar's communication with that fertile country.

Destitution of his forces.

Notwithstanding the great severity of the weather, and a prodigious fall of snow, which rendered the roads almost impassable, the Duke, on the 29th of January, began his march to Dumblane, and next day reached Tullibardine, where he received intelligence that the Pretender and his forces had, on the preceding day, retired toward Dundee. He forthwith took possession of Perth; and then began his march to Aberbrothick, in pursuit of the enemy. The Chevalier de St. George, being thus hotly pursued, was prevailed upon to embark on board a small French ship that lay in the harbor of Montrose. He was accompanied by the Earls of Mar and Melfort, the Lord Drummond, Lieutenant-General Bulkley, and other persons of distinction, to the number of seventeen. In order to avoid the English cruisers, they stretched over to Norway, and coasting along the German and Dutch shores, arrived in five days at Graveline. General Gordon, whom the Pretender had left commander-in-chief of the forces, as-

The Pretender returns to France.

sisted by the Earl Marischal, proceeded with them to Aberdeen, where he secured three vessels to sail northward, and take on board the persons who intended to make their escape to the Continent. Then they continued their march through Strathspey and Strathdown, to the hills of Badenoch, where the common people were quietly dismissed. This retreat was made with such expedition that the Duke of Argyle, with all his activity, could never overtake their rearguard, which consisted of a thousand horse, commanded by the Earl Marischal. Such was the issue of a rebellion that proved fatal to many noble families; a rebellion which, in all probability, would never have happened, had not the violent measures of a Whig ministry kindled such a flame of discontent in the nation as encouraged the partisans of the Pretender to hazard a revolt.

Dismissal of the army.

[In 1716, by the treaty of Hanover, England promises to support the claims of the Regent if the infant Louis XV. dies; the Regent also promises to support the Protestant succession. The Turks lose their last foothold in Hungary. In 1717, John Law forms the Mississippi Company and is appointed Minister of Finance. Prince Eugene destroys a Turkish army and captures Belgrade. In 1718, Charles XII. is killed at Friedrichshall, just as he has entered into an alliance with

Belgrade captured.

Russia for the recovery of her German possessions and the expulsion of George I. from the British throne. New Orleans is founded by the French, and Pensacola by the Spaniards. Austria is left in possession of Hungary by the peace of Passarowitz, by which the Turks also give up Belgrade and parts of Servia, Bosnia and Wallachia. The Sultan consents to desert Rakoksy. In 1719, Philip V. of Spain is forced by the allies to dismiss his great minister. In 1720, Law's great financial schemes fail and he is exiled. The Emperor being without male heirs, publishes the Pragmatic Sanction, which the Empire accepts and proclaims law in 1724. Prussia reaches the Baltic by the acquisition of Stettin and neighboring territory. The mania for speculation spreads to England.]

New Orleans founded.

The Pragmatic Sanction.

THE SOUTH SEA BUBBLE

(A.D. 1720)

CHARLES KNIGHT

THE great event of the sixth year of the reign of George I. was the exciting affair of the South Sea scheme—an event upon which, after the lapse of a hundred and forty years, we may still look with greater interest than upon the treaties and the wars of which it is said, with some truth, that they are to us as the "mere bubblings up of the general putrid fermentation of the then political world."

The South Sea Scheme.

In the infant days of the National Debt the great terror of statesmen was its increase and duration. At the accession of Queen Anne, the debt amounted to sixteen millions; at her death it had reached fifty-two millions. In 1711, there was a floating debt of about ten millions. Harley, then Lord Treasurer, proposed to create a fund for that sum; and to secure the payment of interest, by making certain duties of customs permanent. Capitalists who held debentures were to become shareholders in a company incorporated for the

The National Debt.

purpose of carrying on a monopoly of trade to the Spanish coasts of South America; making the new fund a part of their capital stock. Thus was established the South Sea Company. When the Peace of Utrecht was complete, Spain refused to permit any approach to the free trade which would have made such a commercial company of value. One ship only was allowed to be sent annually. A few factories were established, and the one ship sailed in 1717. Alberoni broke the treaty, and seized the British goods. But the company had other means for the employment of capital; and many opulent persons were among its shareholders and directors.

The South Sea Company.

At the opening of the Parliament in November, 1719, the King said to the Commons: "I must desire you to turn your thoughts to all proper means for lessening the debts of the nation." In January, 1720, a proposal was read to the House of Commons from the South Sea Company, in which it was set forth that if certain public debts and annuities were made part of the capital stock of the Company, it would greatly contribute to that most desirable end adverted to in his Majesty's speech. Before that speech was delivered, Sir John Blunt, a South Sea director, had been in communication with the ministers, who gave a favorable ear to his projects. There was an annual charge upon the revenue of eight hundred thousand pounds, for irredeemable an-

Sir John Blunt's project.

nuities granted in the reigns of William and Anne. To buy up these annuities was the advantageous point in the proposal of the Company. The House of Commons agreed in the necessity of reducing the public debts. "Till this was done," said Mr. Brodrick, who moved that other Companies should be allowed to compete, "we could not, properly speaking, call ourselves a nation." The Bank of England accordingly sent in a rival proposal; and the two Companies went on outbidding each other, till the South Sea Company's large offer to provide seven millions and a half to buy up the annuities was accepted. The annuitants were not compelled to exchange their government security for the Company's stock; and the chief doubt seemed to be whether the greater number would consent to this transfer. Although the terms offered by the Company to the annuitants were not encouraging, there was a rush to accept them. To hold stock in a Company whose exclusive trading privileges might realize that "potentiality of wealth" which is never "beyond the dreams of avarice," was a far grander thing than to receive seven, eight, or even nine per cent, upon annuities. Within six days of the announcement of the Company's terms, two-thirds of the annuitants had exchanged their certain income for the boundless imaginary riches of South America.

The Bank of England's rival proposals.

Upon this foundation was built the most

enormous fabric of national delusion that was ever raised among an industrious, thrifty, and prudent people. It had been long manifest that there was a great amount of superfluous capital, especially of the hoardings of the middle classes, which wanted opportunities for employment. To obtain interest for small sums was scarcely practicable for the mass of those who were enabled to keep their expenditure below their incomes. Before the beginning of the century, companies, more or less safe, had been formed to meet this desire for investments. In spite of the long wars of the reigns of William and Anne, and the Jacobite plots and rebellions which threatened the Protestant succession, the country was going steadily forward in a course of prosperity. Wherever there is superfluous wealth, beyond the ordinary demands of industry for capital, there will be always projectors ready to suggest modes for its co-operative uses. There was then to be seen the magnificent list of noble names, such as continue to attract the unwary to have confidence in some board where very few know the secret transactions. Even the Prince of Wales was then the Governor of a Welsh Copper Company. But it seems to us that the belief of all the schemes of that scheming time being fraudulent and delusive is a mistake. Many of these schemes might be premature; and having chiefly in view the profit to be made by the rise of shares,

Public infatuation.

National prosperity.

"Bubbles" of the day.

might be called "Bubbles." But it is scarcely reasonable to class the following projects among the ridiculous schemes of that gambling time: For improving alum works; for paving the streets of London; for supplying various towns with water; for improving the art of making soap; for improving the paper manufacture; for making iron with pit coal; for extracting silver from lead. It had been justly said by a writer who decried, in 1695, "many pernicious projects now on foot," that "some were very useful and successful while they continued in a few hands, till they fell into stock-jobbing, now much introduced, when they dwindled to nothing: others of them were mere whims, of little or no service to the world." Such, no doubt, was the general character of the manifold projects of 1720.

The road to riches.

In the summer of that year, the South Sea year, "the dog-star raged" over Exchange Alley with a fury that had never been equalled; because no capitalist, even to the possessor of a single shilling, was then too humble not to believe that the road to riches was open before him. Subscribers to projects recommended by "one or more persons of known credit," were only required to advance ten shillings per cent. A shilling, and even sixpence per cent, was enough to secure the receipt for a share in the more doubtful undertakings. Shares of every sort were at a premium, unless in cases where the office that was opened at

noon on one day was found closed on the next, and the shillings and sixpences had vanished with the subscription books. But the great impulse to the frantic stock-jobbing of that summer was the sudden and enormous rise in the value of South Sea stock. In July, Secretary Craggs wrote to Earl Stanhope, who was abroad with the King, "It is impossible to tell you what a rage prevails here for South Sea subscriptions at any price. The crowds of those that possess the redeemable annuities is so great that the Bank, who are obliged to take them in, has been forced to set tables with clerks in the streets." The hundred pound shares of the South Sea Company went up to a thousand pounds in August. The shares of the Bank of England and of the East India Company were transferred at an enormous advance. Smaller companies of every character — water-companies, fishery-companies, companies for various manufactures, companies for settlements and foreign trade—infinite varieties, down to companies for fatting hogs and importing jackasses from Spain—rushed into the market amid the universal cry for shares and more shares. The directors of the South Sea Company opened a second, a third, and a fourth subscription. They boldly proclaimed that after Christmas their annual dividend should not fall short of fifty per cent upon their £100 shares. The rivalry of the legion of projects of that season was

Mad rush for shares.

odious to these great lords of the money-market. The government itself began to think that some fearful end would come to the popular delusion; and a Royal Proclamation was issued against "mischievous and dangerous undertakings, especially the presuming to act as a corporate body, or raising stocks or shares without legal authority." It was calculated that the value of the stock of all the companies, with corporate authority or no authority, amounted at the current prices to five hundred millions sterling; being five times as much as the circulating medium of Europe, and twice as much as the fee simple of all the land of the kingdom. The attempt of the South Sea Company to lessen the number of their competitors was the prelude to their own fall. At their instance, writs of *scire facias* were issued, on the 18th of August, against four companies; and the subscribers to these, and to all other projects not legalized, were ordered to be prosecuted by the officers of the Crown. A panic ensued. In a day or two, the stocks of all the Companies not incorporated rapidly fell; and with the downward rush went down every description of stock. Before August, knowing and cautious holders of South Sea stock began to sell out. Walpole, who had originally opposed the scheme, did not carry his opposition to the extreme of neglecting his opportunity of largely adding to his fortune, by investing at

The Royal Proclamation.

The panic.

the proper time, and selling out at the proper time. The Earl of Pembroke applied to Walpole for his advice as to the great question of selling when the shares were at their culminating point. The adroit financier coolly answered: "I will only tell you what I have done myself. I have just sold out at 1,000 per cent, and I am fully satisfied." By the middle of September, holders of South Sea stock were crowding the Exchange, not as eager buyers, but as more eager sellers. The stock was at 850 on the 18th of August; in a month it had fallen to 410. Mr. Brodrick, on the 13th of September, writes, that the most considerable men of the Company, "with their fast friends, the Tories, Jacobites, and Papists," had drawn out; "securing themselves by the losses of the deluded thoughtless numbers, whose understandings were overruled by avarice, and hopes of making mountains of mole-hills. Thousands of families will be reduced to beggary. . . . The consternation is inexpressible; the rage beyond expression; and the case is so desperate that I do not see any plan or scheme for averting the blow." On the 29th of September, South Sea stock had fallen to 175. This greatest of bubbles had burst. Many persons of rank and station were not so prudent as Walpole and the Earl of Pembroke had been. The Duke of Portland, Lord Lonsdale, and Lord Irwin were provided with colonial governments to enable

Walpole's shrewdness

The bubble bursts.

them to live;—a species of consideration for ruined nobility which is rather in bad odor in our days. Merchants, lawyers, clergy, physicians, passed from their dream of fabulous wealth and from their wonted comforts into poverty; some "died of broken hearts; others withdrew to remote parts of the world, and never returned." It has been observed that "the calamitous effects of the madness were rather individual and immediate, than permanent or general. There was little, if any, absolute destruction of capital. The whole mischief consisted in a most quick and violent shifting of property from one hand to another." But the derangement of the ordinary course of industry was to be added to this shifting of property. Serious as was this temporary evil; furious as it made the sufferers in their reproaches against every one but themselves; eager as it rendered the legislature for confiscation of the property of the South Sea Directors, the national credit was not permanently impaired by the infatuation which produced so much private misery. In this respect, the issue of the South Sea scheme was essentially different from the Mississippi scheme of John Law in France, which also exploded in that fatal year for projectors; producing there what was equivalent to a national bankruptcy. When the South Sea crash came, there was alarm for its public consequences. But Walpole, who had again joined the gov-

Terrible results.

Misery private, not national.

ernment, though in a subordinate office, applied his great financial abilities to avert the difficulties which this convulsion might occasion to the State; and instead of joining the first cry for vengeance upon the South Sea Directors, he calmly said in Parliament, that if London were on fire, wise men would endeavor to extinguish the flames before they sought for the incendiaries. When the King opened the session on the 8th of December, the royal speech recommended measures "to restore the national credit." Walpole was regarded by all parties as the man to effect this.

Investigations in the Commons.

The Commons, through the entire session, were occupied with investigations and discussions connected with the financial convulsion. The private estates of the directors were to be regarded as a fund to provide some remedy for the public embarrassment. A bill was passed, to compel them to deliver, on oath, an estimate of the value of their property, and to prevent their going out of the kingdom. A secret Committee of Inquiry was appointed. After they had examined Mr. Robert Knight, the cashier of the Company, he fled to Brabant. A reward of £2,000 was offered for his apprehension; but it was believed that there were influences at work powerful enough to screen him. Knight was arrested at Antwerp; but the States of Brabant refused to give him up. "Screen" became a bye-word.

Flight of the Cashier.

"The Screen."

Caricatures—which it is said were become common at this period for political objects—had for their point the Duchess of Kendal and the flight of the cashier. "The Brabant Screen" exhibited the King's mistress sending Knight upon his travels, giving him his despatches from behind a screen. The prudent cashier took care to obliterate, as far as possible, the evidence that great ladies and ministers of state had been corrupted by the South Sea Directors. The Committee of the Commons reported that "in some of the books produced before them, false and fictitious entries were made; in others, entries with blanks; in others, entries with erasures and alterations; and in others, leaves were torn out." They found, further, that some books had been destroyed, and others taken away or secreted. Out of the mouths of the directors the committee extracted evidence to show that there had been extensive appropriation of stock to "certain ladies," at the instance of Mr. Secretary Craggs; and the proof was clear that persons high in office had received and held stock during the time that the Company's bill was depending in Parliament, "without any valuable consideration paid, or sufficient security given for the acceptance of, or payment for, such stock." Nevertheless, Charles Stanhope, one of the accused, was cleared by a majority of three. The Earl of Sunderland was exonerated by a larger majority; but he

Corrupt practices.

could not stand up against the popular odium, and resigned his post of first Commissioner of the Treasury. Aislabie, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was expelled the House, and was sent to the Tower. James Craggs died of small-pox during the heat of this inquiry. His father, the Postmaster-General, destroyed himself by poison. Suicide of Craggs.

The charges against the directors were founded upon their practice of "selling their own stock at high prices, at the same time that they gave orders for buying stock upon account of the Company;" and upon their various contrivances "to give his majesty's subjects false notions of the value" of the South Sea stock. The punishment, under the bill that was passed, was severe. Their estates, amounting to two millions sterling, were confiscated for the relief of the sufferers by their schemes. A small allowance was made to each; but they were disabled from ever holding any place, or for sitting in Parliament. Such visitations for their offences were thought far too lenient by the greater number of their contemporaries. They may now be considered excessive.

[In 1721, the Holy Synod is appointed as ruler of the Church under the Czar in place of the Patriarchate of Moscow. France, England and Spain form a defensive alliance. The treaty of Nystad between Russia and Sweden

finally confirms Russia's supremacy. France occupies Mauritius, which was deserted by Holland in 1712. Lady M. W. Montagu introduces inoculation for small-pox into England. In 1722, the Emperor, in opposition to England, forms an East India Company at Ostend. The Czar executes his son, Alexis, for opposing his policy. In 1723, the Regent and his minister, Dubois, die, and the King's minority ends. In 1724, Philip V. resigns his throne, but, on the death of his son, resumes it at his wife's exhortation. In 1725, Louis XV. dismisses his betrothed, the Spanish Infanta, and marries Marie Leczynski of Poland; outraged Spain forms an alliance with the Emperor. Russia and other German States join. To counterbalance this alliance, England, France and Prussia form a confederacy, afterward joined by Sweden, Denmark and Holland. Peter the Great dies and is succeeded by his wife. Bering Straits are discovered by a Dane named Bering. In 1726, Russia and Austria form a treaty of alliance for thirty years for offence against the Turks and defence against other Powers. In 1729, Philip V. deserts Austria and joins France and England by the treaty of Seville. The proprietors of Carolina sell their titles, and the colony is divided into North and South Carolina under Royal Government. In 1731, England acknowledges the Pragmatic Sanction, on condition that Maria

Inoculation for small-pox introduced into England.

Death of Peter the Great.

Theresa shall not marry a Bourbon. Hadley invents the quadrant for naval use. The *Gentleman's Magazine* is founded. In 1732, the German States, with the exception of the Palatinate, Saxony, and Bavaria, accept the Pragmatic Sanction. The State of Georgia is founded. In 1733, the secret treaty of the Escurial establishes a family compact between France and Spain. In 1735, Labourdonnais establishes the sugar industry in Mauritius and Réunion. In 1736, the Porteous riots disturb Edinburgh and reveal hostility to the English government. The Czarina Anne declares war against Turkey and seizes Azov. Austria sends an army to help Russia under a Protestant named Seckendorf. The explorations of Herculaneum, which was discovered in 1711, are begun. In 1737, the War of the Polish Succession ends. Seckendorf is disgraced after the Austrians have been defeated. The Czarina Anne obtains Courland for Biron.]

Gentleman's Magazine founded.

Explorations of Herculaneum begun.

THE AUSTRO-RUSSIAN ATTACK ON TURKEY

(A.D. 1737—1739)

THOMAS CARLYLE

FROM the Eastern regions our newspapers are very full of events: war with the Turk going on there; Russia and Austria both doing their best against the Turk. The Russians had hardly finished their Polish-election fighting, when they decided to have a stroke at the Turk,—Turk always an especial eye-sorrow to them, since that "Treaty of the Pruth," and Czar Peter's sad rebuff there: Münnich marched direct out of Poland through the Ukraine, with his eye on the Crimea and furious business in that quarter. This is his second campaign there, this of 1737; and furious business had not failed. Last year he stormed the Lines of Perecop, tore open the Crimea; took Azoph, he, or Lacy under him; took many things; this year he laid his plans for Oczakow;—takes Oczakow,—fiery event, blazing in all the newspapers at Reinsberg and elsewhere. Concerning which will the reader accept this condensed testimony by an eye-witness?

Munnich's campaigns.

"*Oczakow,* 13th July, 1737. Day before yesterday, Feldmarschall Münnich got to Oczakow, as he had planned,"—strong Turkish town in the nook between the Black Sea and the estuary of the Dnieper;—"with intention to besiege it. Siege train, stores of every sort, which he had set afloat upon the Dnieper in time enough, were to have been ready for him at Oczakow. But the flotilla had been detained by shallows, by waterfalls; not a boat was come, nor could anybody say when they were coming. Meanwhile, nothing is to be had here; the very face of the earth the Turks have burnt: not a blade of grass for cavalry within eight miles, nor a stick of wood for engineers; nor a hole for covert, and the ground so hard you can not raise redoubts on it:—Münnich perceives he must attempt, nevertheless. Report from Oczakow.

"On his right, by the seashore, Münnich finds some remains of gardens, palisades; scrapes together some vestige of shelter there (five thousand, or even ten thousand, pioneers working desperately all that first night, 11th July, with only half success); and on the morrow commences firing with what artillery he has. Much out-fired by the Turks inside;—his enterprise as good as desperate, unless the Dnieper flotilla come soon. July 12, all day the firing continues, and all night; Turks extremely furious: about an hour before daybreak, we notice burning in the interior, 'Some Desperate condition.

wooden houses kindled by us, the town got on fire yonder,'—and, praise to Heaven, they do not seem to succeed in quenching it again. Münnich turns out, in various divisions; intent on trying something, had he the least engineer furniture;—hopes desperately there may be promise for him in that internal burning still visible.

Keith's bravery.

"In the centre of Münnich's line is one General Keith, a deliberate, stalwart Scotch gentleman, whom we shall know better; Münnich himself is to the right: could not one try it by scalade; keep the internal burning free to spread, at any rate? 'Advance within musket-shot, General Keith!' orders Münnich's aide-de-camp, cantering up. 'I have been this good while within it,' answers Keith, pointing to his dead men. Aide-de-camp canters up a second time. 'Advance within half musket shot, General Keith, and quit any covert you have!' Keith does so; sends, with his respects to Feldmarschall Münnich, his remonstrance against such a waste of human life. Aide-de-camp canters up a third time: 'Feldmarschall Münnich is trying for a scalade; hopes General Keith will do his best to co-operate!' Forward, then!' answers Keith; advances close to the glacis; finds a wet ditch twelve feet broad, and has not a stick of engineer furniture. Keith waits there two hours; his men, under fire all the while, trying this and that to get across; Münnich's scalade going off ineffect-

ual in like manner:—till, at length, Keith's men, and all men, tire of such a business, and roll back in great confusion out of shot range. Münnich gives himself up for lost. And, indeed, says Mannstein, had the Turks sallied out in pursuit at that moment, they might have chased us back to Russia. But the Turks did not sally. And the internal conflagration is not quenched, far from it;—and about nine A.M. their Powder-Magazine, conflagration reaching it, roared aloft into the air, and killed seven thousand of them"—

So that Oczakow was taken, sure enough; terms, life only: and every remaining Turk packs off from it, some "twenty thousand inhabitants, young and old," for one sad item.—A very blazing, semi-absurd event, to be read of in Prussian military circles,—where General Keith will be better known one day. Oczakow captured.

Russian war with the Turk: that means withal, by old Treaties; aid of thirty thousand men from the Kaiser to Russia. Kaiser, so ruined lately, how can he send thirty thousand, and keep them recruited, in such distant expedition? Kaiser, much meditating, is advised it will be better to go frankly into the Turk on his own score, and try for slices of profit from him in this game. Kaiser declares war against the Turk; and what is still more interesting to Friedrich Wilhelm and the Berlin Circles, Seckendorf is named General of it. Feldzeugmeister now Feldmar- The Kaiser declares war against the Turk.

schall Seckendorf, envy may say what it will, he has marched this season into the Lower-Donau Countries,—going to besiege Widdin, they say,—at the head of a big Army (on paper, almost a hundred and fifty thousand, light troops and heavy)—virtually commander-in-chief; though nominally our fine young friend, Franz of Lorraine, bears the title of Commander, whom Seckendorf is going to dry nurse in the way sometimes practiced. Going to besiege Widdin, they say. So has the poor Kaiser been advised. His wise, old Eugene is now gone;* I fear his advisers,—a youngish Feldzeugmeister, Prince of Hildburghausen, the chief favorite among them,—are none of the wisest. All Protestants, we observe, these favorite Hildburghausens, Schmettaus, Seckendorfs of his; and Vienna is an orthodox Papal Court;—and there is a Hofkriegsrath (Supreme Council of War), which has ruined many a general, poking too meddlesomely into his affairs! On the whole, Seckendorf will have his difficulties. Here is a scene, on the Lower Donau, different enough from that at Oczakow, not far from contemporaneous with it. The Austrian Army is already at Kolitz, a march or two beyond Belgrad:

Seckendorf's difficulties.

"*Kolitz*, 2d July, 1737. This day, the army not being on march, but allowed to rest itself, Grand Duke Franz went into the woods to

Franz loses himself.

* Died April 30, 1736.

hunt. Hunting up and down, he lost himself; did not return at evening; and, as the night closed in and no generalissimo visible, the Generalissimo *ad Latus* (such the title they had contrived for Seckendorf) was in much alarm. Generalissimo *ad Latus* ordered out his whole force of drummers, trumpeters: to fling themselves, postwise, deeper and deeper into the woods all round; to drum there, and blow, in ever-widening circle, in prescribed notes, and with all energy till the Grand Duke were found. Grand Duke being found, Seckendorf remonstrated, rebuked; a thought too earnestly, some say, his temper being flurried,"—voice snuffling somewhere in alt, with lisp to help:—"so that the Grand Duke took offence; flung off in a huff; and always looked askance on the Feldmarschall from that time";—quitting him altogether before long; and marching with Khevenhüller, Wallis, Hildburghausen, or any of the subordinate generals rather. Probably Widdin will not go the road of Oczakow, nor the Austrians prosper like the Russians, this summer. His resentment.

Pöllnitz, in Tobacco-Parliament, and in certain Berlin circles foolishly agape about this new Feldmarschall, maintains always Seckendorf will come to nothing; which his Majesty zealously contradicts—his Majesty, and some short-sighted private individuals still favorable to Seckendorf. Exactly one week after that singular drum-and-trumpet

operation on Duke Franz, the last of the Medici dies at Florence; and Serene Fritz, if he knew it, is Grand Duke of Tuscany, according to bargain: a matter important to himself chiefly, and to France, who, for Stanislaus and Lorraine's sake, has had to pay him some 200,000 pounds a year during the brief intermediate state.

Turk war ends.

Last news come to Potsdam in these days is, The Kaiser has ended his disastrous Turk war; been obliged to end it; sudden downbreak having at last come upon his unfortunate generals in those parts. Duke Franz was passionate to be out of such a thing; Franz, General Neipperg and others; and now, "2d September, 1739," like lodgers leaping from a burning house, they are out of it. The Turk gets Belgrad itself, not to mention wide territories further east—Belgrad without shot fired;—nay, the Turk was hardly to be kept from Hanging the Imperial Messenger (a General Neipperg, Duke Franz's old Tutor, and chief Confidant, whom we shall hear more of elsewhere), whose passport was not quite right on this occasion!—Never was a more disgraceful Peace. But also never had been worse fighting; planless, changeful, powerless, melting into futility at every step:—not to be mended by imprisonments in Grätz, and still harsher treatment of individuals. "Has all success forsaken me, then, since Eugene died?" said the Kaiser; and snatched at this

Losses of the Kaiser.

Turk Peace; glad to have it, by mediation of France, and on any terms.

Had not this Kaiser lost his outlying properties at a fearful rate? Naples is gone; Spanish Bourbon sits in our Naples; comparatively little left for us in Italy. And now the very Turk has beaten us small; insolently fillips the imperial nose of us—threatening to hang our Neipperg, and the like. Were it not for Anne of Russia, whose big horsewhip falls heavy on this Turk, he might almost get to Vienna again, for anything we could do! A Kaiser worthy to be pitied;—whom Friedrich Wilhelm, we perceive, does honestly pity. A Kaiser much beggared, much disgraced in late years; who has played a huge life-game so long, diplomatizing, warring; and except the Shadow of Pragmatic Sanction, has nothing to retire upon. Anne of Russia.

The Russians protested, with astonishment, against such Turk Peace on the Kaiser's part. But there was no help for it. Our ally is gone, the Kaiser has let go this Western skirt of the Turk; and Thamas Kouli Khan (called also Nadir Shah, famed Oriental slasher and slayer of that time) no longer stands upon the Eastern skirt, but "has entered India," it appears; the Russians—their cash, too, running low—do themselves make peace, "about a month after"; restoring Azoph and nearly all their conquests; putting off the ruin of the Turk till a better time. The Russians make peace.

[In 1735, John Wesley goes to work in Georgia. He returns in 1738 and is converted by Peter Bohler, a Moravian. Whitefield undertakes a mission to America; and the next year his example of preaching in the open air is followed by John Wesley, who is consequently excluded from the majority of pulpits. In 1740, Wesley leaves the Moravians and in the next year employs lay preachers and builds chapels for them. In 1741, Whitefield returns from America; and the Moravians found Bethlehem and other colonies in Pennsylvania.]

Whitefield and Wesley.

THE RISE OF METHODISM AND THE NEW PHILANTHROPY

(A.D. 1738)

JOHN RICHARD GREEN

THE fall of Walpole revealed a change in the temper of England which was to influence from that time to this its social and political history. New forces, new cravings, new aims, which had been silently gathering beneath the crust of inaction, began at last to tell on the national life. The stir showed itself markedly in a religious revival which dates from the later years of Walpole's ministry. Never had religion seemed at a lower ebb. The progress of free inquiry, the aversion from theological strife which had been left by the civil wars, the new political and material channels opened to human energy, had produced a general indifference to all questions of religious speculation or religious life. A shrewd, if prejudiced, observer brands the English clergy of the day as the most lifeless in Europe, "the most remiss of their labors in private, and the least severe in their lives." There was a revolt against re-

The Church and the Georges.

ligion and against churches in both the extremes of English society. In the higher circles of society "every one laughs," said Montesquieu on his visit to England, "if one talks of religion." Of the prominent statesmen of the time the greater part were unbelievers in any form of Christianity, and distinguished for the grossness and immorality of their lives. The rural peasantry, who were fast being reduced to pauperism by the abuse of the poor-laws, were left without much moral or religious training of any sort. "We saw but one Bible in the parish of Cheddar," said Hannah More at a far later time, "and that was used to prop a flower-pot." Within the towns things were worse. There was no effective police; and in great outbreaks the mob of London or Birmingham burnt houses, flung open prisons, and sacked and pillaged at their will. The criminal class gathered boldness and numbers in the face of ruthless laws which only testified to the terror of society, laws which made it a capital crime to cut down a cherry tree, and which strung up twenty young thieves of a morning in front of Newgate; while the introduction of gin gave a new impetus to drunkenness. In the streets of London at one time ginshops invited every passer-by to get drunk for a penny, or dead drunk for twopence.

Religious indifference

In spite, however, of scenes such as this, England remained at heart religious. In the

The religious revival.

middle class the old Puritan spirit lived on unchanged, and it was from this class that a religious revival burst forth at the close of Walpole's administration, which changed after a time the whole tone of English society. The Church was restored to life and activity. Religion carried to the hearts of the people a fresh spirit of moral zeal, while it purified our literature and our manners. A new philanthropy reformed our prisons, infused clemency and wisdom into our penal laws, abolished the slave trade, and gave the first impulse to popular education. The revival began in a small knot of Oxford students, whose revolt against the religious deadness of their times showed itself in ascetic observances, an enthusiastic devotion, and a methodical regularity of life which gained them the nickname of "Methodists." Three figures detached themselves from the group as soon as, on its transfer to London in 1738, it attracted public attention by the fervor and even extravagance of its piety; and each found his special work in the task to which the instinct of the new movement led it from the first, that of carrying religion and morality to the vast masses of population which lay concentrated in the towns, or around the mines and collieries of Cornwall and the north. Whitefield, a servitor of Pembroke College, was above all the preacher of the revival. Speech was governing English politics; and the religious power of speech was

The Methodists.

Whitefield.

shown when a dread of "enthusiasm" closed against the new apostles the pulpits of the Established Church, and forced them to preach in the fields. Their voice was soon heard in the wildest and most barbarous corners of the land, among the bleak moors of Northumberland, or in the dens of London, or in the long galleries where in the pauses of his labor the Cornish miner listens to the sobbing of the sea. Whitefield's preaching was such as England had never heard before, theatrical, extravagant, often commonplace, but hushing all criticism by its intense reality, its earnestness of belief, its deep tremulous sympathy with the sin and sorrow of mankind. It was no common enthusiast who could wring gold from the close-fisted Franklin and admiration from the fastidious Horace Walpole, or who could look down from the top of a green knoll at Kingswood on twenty thousand colliers, grimy from the Bristol coal-pits, and see as he preached the tears "making white channels down their blackened cheeks." On the rough and ignorant masses to whom they spoke the effect of Whitefield and his fellow Methodists was mighty both for good and ill. Their preaching stirred a passionate hatred in their opponents. Their lives were often in danger, they were mobbed, they were ducked, they were stoned, they were smothered with filth. But the enthusiasm they aroused was equally passionate. Women fell down in convulsions;

Effect of his preaching.

strong men were smitten suddenly to the earth; the preacher was interrupted by bursts of hysteric laughter or of hysteric sobbing. All the phenomena of strong spiritual excitement, so familiar now, but at that time strange and unknown, followed on their sermons; and the terrible sense of a conviction of sin, a new dread of hell, a new hope of heaven, took forms at once grotesque and sublime. Charles Wesley, a Christ Church student, came to add sweetness to this sudden and startling light. He was the "sweet singer" of the movement. His hymns expressed the fiery conviction of its converts in lines so chaste and beautiful that its more extravagant features disappeared. The wild throes of hysteric enthusiasm passed into a passion for hymn-singing, and a new musical impulse was aroused in the people which gradually changed the face of public devotion throughout England.

Charles Wesley.

But it was his elder brother, John Wesley, who embodied in himself not this or that side of the new movement, but the movement itself. Even at Oxford, where he resided as a fellow of Lincoln, he had been looked upon as head of the group of Methodists, and after his return from a quixotic mission to the Indians of Georgia he again took the lead of the little society, which had removed in the interval to London. In power as a preacher he stood next to Whitefield; as a hymn-writer he stood second to his brother Charles. But while com-

John Wesley, 1703-1791.

His great qualities.

bining in some degree the excellences of either, he possessed qualities in which both were utterly deficient; an indefatigable industry, a cool judgment, a command over others, a faculty of organization, a singular union of patience and moderation with an imperious ambition, which marked him as a ruler of men. He had besides a learning and skill in writing which no other of the Methodists possessed; he was older than any of his colleagues at the start of the movement, and he outlived them all. His life indeed almost covers the century, and the Methodist body had passed through every phase of its history before he sank into the grave at the age of eighty-eight. It would have been impossible for Wesley to have wielded the power he did had he not shared the follies and extravagance as well as the enthusiasm of his disciples. But with all this extravagance and superstition, Wesley's mind was essentially practical, orderly, and conservative. No man ever stood at the head of a great revolution whose temper was so anti-revolutionary. In his earlier days the bishops had been forced to rebuke him for the narrowness and intolerance of his churchmanship. When Whitefield began his sermons in the fields, Wesley "could not at first reconcile himself to that strange way." He condemned and fought against the admission of laymen as preachers till he found himself left with none but laymen to preach. To the last he clung

His prejudices.

passionately to the Church of England, and looked on the body he had formed as but a lay society in full communion with it. He broke with the Moravians, who had been the earliest friends of the new movement, when they endangered its safe conduct by their contempt of religious forms. He broke with Whitefield when the great preacher plunged into an extravagant Calvinism. But the same practical temper of mind which led him to reject what was unmeasured, and to be the last to adopt what was new, enabled him at once to grasp and organize the novelties he adopted. He became himself the most unwearied of field preachers, and his journal for half a century is little more than a record of fresh journeys and fresh sermons. When once driven to employ lay helpers in his ministry, he made their work a new and attractive feature in his system. His earlier asceticism only lingered in a dread of social enjoyments and an aversion from the gayer and sunnier side of life which links the Methodist movement with that of the Puritans. As the fervor of his superstition died down into the calm of age, his cool common-sense discouraged in his followers the enthusiastic outbursts which marked the opening of the revival. His powers were bent to the building up of a great religious society which might give to the new enthusiasm a lasting and practical form. The Methodists were grouped into classes, gath-

His common-sense.

ered in love-feasts, purified by the expulsion of unworthy members, and furnished with an alternation of settled ministers and wandering preachers; while the whole body was placed under the absolute government of a Conference of ministers. But so long as he lived, the direction of the new religious society remained with Wesley alone.

Influence of the movement.

The great body which he thus founded numbered a hundred thousand members at his death, and now counts its members in England and America by millions. But the Methodists themselves were the least result of the Methodist revival. Its action upon the Church broke the lethargy of the clergy; and the "Evangelical" movement, which found representatives like Newton and Cecil within the pale of the Establishment, made the fox-hunting parson and the absentee rector at last impossible. In Walpole's day, the English clergy were the idlest and most lifeless in the world. In our own time, no body of religious ministers surpasses them in piety, in philanthropic energy, or in popular regard. In the

The new Philanthropy.

nation at large appeared a new moral enthusiasm which, rigid and pedantic as it often seemed, was still healthy in its social tone, and whose power was seen in the disappearance of the profligacy which had disgraced the upper classes, and the foulness which had infested literature, ever since the Restoration. A yet nobler result of the religious revival was the

steady attempt, which has never ceased from that day to this, to remedy the guilt, the ignorance, the physical suffering, the social degradation of the profligate and the poor. It was not till the Wesleyan impulse had done its work that this philanthropic impulse began. The Sunday schools established by Mr. Raikes of Gloucester at the close of the century were the beginnings of popular education. By writings, and by her own personal example, Hannah More drew the sympathy of England to the poverty and crime of the agricultural laborer. A passionate impulse of human sympathy with the wronged and afflicted raised hospitals, endowed charities, built churches, sent missionaries to the heathen, supported Burke in his plea for the Hindoo, and Clarkson and Wilberforce in their crusade against the iniquity of the slave-trade. It is only the moral chivalry of his labors that among a crowd of philanthropists draws us most, perhaps, to the work and character of John Howard. The sympathy which all were feeling for the sufferings of mankind he felt for the sufferings of the worst and most hapless of men. With wonderful ardor and perseverance he devoted himself to the cause of the debtor, the felon, and the murderer. An appointment to the office of High Sheriff of Bedfordshire, in 1774, drew his attention to the state of the prisons which were placed under his care; and from that time the quiet country

Sunday schools.

John Howard.

Reform in prison discipline.

gentleman, whose only occupation had been reading his Bible and studying his thermometer, became the most energetic and zealous of reformers. The book in which he recorded his terrible experience, and the plans which he submitted for the reformation of criminals, made him the father, so far as England is concerned, of prison discipline. But his labors were far from being confined to England. In journey after journey he visited the jails of Holland and Germany, till his longing to discover some means of checking the fatal progress of the plague led him to examine the lazarettos of Europe and the East. He was still engaged in this work of charity when he was seized by a malignant fever at Cherson in Southern Russia, and "laid quietly in the earth," as he desired.

[In 1739, war breaks out between England and Spain. Admiral Vernon captures Portobello, and, on a voyage round the world, Anson attacks Peru. The Portuguese lose almost all their possessions on the northwest coast of India. In 1740, the Emperor dies and the male line of the Hapsburgs becomes extinct. The Czarina Anne dies. Frederick the Great succeeds his father, and, while the succession to the Empire is being contested, he seizes Silesia.]

WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION

(A.D. 1740—1748)

SUTHERLAND MENZIES

IN 1724, Charles issued the Pragmatic Sanction, or fundamental law, which regulates the order of succession in the family of Austria. By this law, in default of male issue, Charles's eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, was called to the inheritance of the Austrian dominions, and her children and descendants after her. The Pragmatic Sanction was guaranteed by all the German princes, and several of the other powers of Europe, with the exception of the French and Spanish Bourbons, who were always jealous of the power of Austria. The Pragmatic Sanction.

The death of Augustus II., King of Poland, in 1733, was the signal of a new war on the part of the Bourbons against Austria, ostensibly on account of the Polish succession, which was disputed between Augustus III. and Stanislaus Leczinski. By the Peace of Vienna, in November, 1735, the Emperor gave up Naples and Sicily to Don Carlos, Infante of Spain, while the succession of Tus- War of the Austrian Succession.

cany, after the death of Gian Gastone, the last of the Medici, who was childless, was secured to Maria Theresa of Austria and her husband, Francis of Lorraine, who, in 1739, took possession of that fine country. The Emperor Charles died at Vienna, 20th of October, 1740, and was succeeded in his hereditary dominions, and afterward in the Empire, by his daughter, Maria Theresa, after a long and memorable war, known by the name of the War of the Austrian Succession. Charles was the last male offspring of the House of Austria-Hapsburg. The present house, though frequently called the House of Hapsburg, is Austria-Lorraine, being the descendants of Maria Theresa and Francis of Lorraine.

Maria Theresa.

Maria Theresa, Archduchess of Austria, Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and Empress of Germany, was born in 1717. By the death of her father, Charles VI., she was, in accordance both with the rights of blood and the faith of treaties, the lawful sovereign of Bohemia, Hungary, Austria, Upper and Lower, and numerous other states, countries, and cities, in Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands. Of this vast inheritance she accordingly took undisputed possession. But she had soon to experience the faithlessness of princes. Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria —a house which, from its alliance with France, and its own ambition, seemed destined to be the curse of the Empire and the

House of Austria—claimed Bohemia. Augustus of Saxony, who, like his Queen, had agreed to the Pragmatic Sanction, and by so doing had procured the support of Austria in his election to the throne of Poland, with great modesty demanded the whole of the Austrian dominions. A similar demand was made by the King of Spain; by the King of France; while the King of Sardinia, unable to cope with monarchs so powerful, showed his superior moderation, by declaring that he would be contented with the Duchy of Milan. Maria Theresa, however, with a spirit and decision remarkable for her age, lost no time in repairing to Vienna and taking possession of Austria, Bohemia, and her other German States; she then proceeded to Presburg, took the oaths to the constitution of Hungary, and was solemnly proclaimed Queen of that kingdom in 1741.

Conflicting claims.

The appearance of a young, helpless female on the thrones of those vast possessions, opened to these chivalrous princes a glorious prospect for the dismemberment of her States. But while they were carefully apportioning their respective shares of the spoil, a new and more dangerous competitor appeared in Frederick, King of Prussia. He offered the young Queen his friendship on the condition of her surrendering Silesia to him, but she resolutely refused, and Frederick invaded that province. The Elector of Bavaria overran Austria and

Invasion of Silesia by Frederick.

Bohemia, and pushed his troops to the gates of Vienna. Maria Theresa, being obliged to quit her capital, repaired to Presburg. Convoking the Hungarian Diet, she appeared in the midst of that assembly with her infant son, Joseph, in her arms. She told the magnates, prelates, and deputies, that "being assailed by her enemies on every side, forsaken by her friends, and finding even her own relatives hostile to her, she had no hopes except in their loyalty, and that she had come to place under their protection the daughter and the son of their kings." This heart-stirring appeal was answered by a burst of chivalrous enthusiasm. The Hungarian nobles, drawing their swords, unanimously cried out, "Moriamur pro *Rege* nostro, Maria Theresa," and the whole military force of Hungary was soon in arms to defend their Queen. Her troops, under General Kevenhuller and Prince Charles of Lorraine, her brother-in-law, fought gallantly, and drove the French and Bavarians out of the hereditary States.

Chivalrous enthusiasm.

Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria, was in the meantime elected Emperor of Germany, by the Diet assembled at Frankfort, by the title of Charles VII. Frederick of Prussia soon made peace with Maria Theresa, who was obliged to surrender Silesia to him. But, though still menaced by these royal bandits, the Queen did not despair: supported by Hungary, which exhibited the most chivalrous de-

A rival Emperor elected.

votion to her cause, she commenced a career of the warfare highly glorious to the Austrian arms. In 1744, Frederick again declared war against her, and invaded Bohemia; but the Elector of Saxony, who had made his peace with her, sent the Queen reinforcements, which obliged the Prussians to evacuate the country.

In 1745, Charles VII. died, and Francis, Maria Theresa's husband, was elected Emperor. In 1747, the war continued to rage in Italy and Flanders, with various success. In 1748, the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle terminated the war called "the War of the Austrian Succession," and Maria Theresa was left in peaceful possession of all her hereditary dominions, except Silesia, which the King of Prussia kept.

Francis I. of Lorraine elected Emperor, 1745.

[In 1744, France declares war against England and Austria, and an expedition to restore the Young Pretender is ruined by a storm. In 1745, however, he lands in Scotland, wins the battle of Preston Pans, crosses the Border and penetrates England as far as Derby, but is afraid to proceed further. He retraces his steps and defeats the royal troops at Falkirk in January, 1746. He is totally defeated at Culloden, but by the devotion of his followers he escapes to France. The Highlanders are disarmed and the hereditary jurisdiction of their chiefs is abolished.]

THE CAPTURE OF CAPE BRETON

(A.D. 1745)

TOBIAS SMOLLETT

THE naval transactions of Great Britain were in the course of this year remarkably spirited. In the Mediterranean, Admiral Rowley had succeeded Matthews in the command: Savona, Genoa, Final, St. Remo, with Bastia, the capital of Corsica, were bombarded: several Spanish ships were taken; but he could not prevent the safe arrival of their rich Havana squadron at Corunna. Commodore Barnet, in the East Indies, captured several French ships, richly laden; and Commodore Townshend, in the latitude of Martinico, took about thirty merchant-ships belonging to the enemy, under convoy of four ships of war, two of which were destroyed. The English privateers likewise met with uncommon success. But the most important achievement was the conquest of Louisbourg on the isle of Cape Breton, in North America, a place of great consequence, which the French had fortified at a prodigious expense. The scheme of reducing

English successes.

Louisbourg attacked.

this fortress was planned in Boston, recommended by their general assembly, and approved by his Majesty, who sent instructions to Commodore Warren, stationed off the Leeward Islands, to sail for the northern parts of America, and co-operate with the forces of New England in this expedition. A body of six thousand men was formed under the conduct of Mr. Pepperel, a trader of Piscataquay, whose influence was extensive in that country; though he was a man of little or no education, and utterly unacquainted with military operations. In April, Mr. Warren arrived at Canso with ten ships of war; and the troops of New England being embarked in transports, sailed immediately for the isle of Cape Breton, where they landed without opposition. The enemy abandoned their grand battery, which was detached from the town, and the immediate seizure of it contributed in a good measure to the success of the enterprise. While the American troops, reinforced by eight hundred marines, carried on their approaches by land, the squadron blocked up the place by sea in such a manner that no succors could be introduced. A French ship of the line, with some smaller vessels destined for the relief of the garrison, were intercepted and taken by the British cruisers; and, indeed, the reduction of Louisbourg was chiefly owing to the vigilance and activity of Mr. Warren, one of the bravest and best officers in the service of Eng-

The blockade

land. The operations of the siege were wholly conducted by the engineers and officers who commanded the British marines; and the Americans, being ignorant of war, were contented to act under their directions. The town being considerably damaged by the bombs and bullets of the besiegers, and the garrison despairing of relief, the governor capitulated on the 17th day of June, when the city of Louisbourg, and the isle of Cape Breton, were surrendered to his Britannic Majesty. The garrison and inhabitants engaged that they would not bear arms for twelve months against Great Britain or her allies; and being embarked in fourteen cartel ships, were transported to Rochefort. In a few days after the surrender of Louisbourg, two French East India ships, and another from Peru, laden with treasure, sailed into the harbor, on the supposition that it still belonged to France, and were taken by the English squadron.

Terms of capitulation.

The news of this conquest being transmitted to England, Mr. Pepperel was preferred to the dignity of a baronet of Great Britain, and congratulatory addresses were presented to the King on the success of his Majesty's arms. The possession of Cape Breton was, doubtless, a valuable acquisition to Great Britain. It not only distressed the French in their fishery and navigation, but removed all fears of encroachment and rivalship from

Pepperel honored.

the English fishers on the banks of Newfoundland. It freed New England from the terrors of a dangerous neighbor; overawed the Indians of that country; and secured the possession of Acadia to the crown of Great Britain. The plan of this conquest was originally laid by Mr. Auchmuty, Judge-Advocate of the Court of Admiralty in New England. He demonstrated that the reduction of Cape Breton would put the English in possession of the fishery of North America, which would annually return to Great Britain two millions sterling for the manufactures yearly shipped to the plantations; employ many thousand families that were otherwise unserviceable to the public; increase the shipping and mariners; extend navigation; cut off all communication between France and Canada by the river St. Lawrence; so that Quebec would fall of course into the hands of the English, who might expel the French entirely from America, open a correspondence with the remote Indians, and render themselves masters of the profitable fur-trade, which was now engrossed by the enemy. The natives of New England acquired great glory from the success of this enterprise. Britain, which had in some instances behaved like a stepmother to her own colonies, was now convinced of their importance; and treated those as brethren whom she had too long considered as aliens and rivals.

Advantages of this conquest.

[In 1746, Labourdonnais seizes Madras, and Dupleix, the Governor of Pondicherry, defeats a large Hindoo force. In 1747, Ahmed Shah Durani founds modern Afghanistan. In 1748, the Ohio Company receives its charter and begins to annoy the French settlers. England acquires Madras. The Punjab is invaded by Ahmed Shah. Excavations are begun at Pompeii. In 1751, Dupleix menaces Madras. Clive volunteers and captures Arcot. The first two volumes of the *Encyclopédie* appear. Mason and Dixon determine the boundaries of Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland, and continue westward until stopped by the Indians. In 1752, Clive captures Trichinopoly. In 1753, the Levant Company is dissolved. Duquesne seizes Fort Duquesne and arrests traders of the Ohio Company. Virginia strongly protests. Sir Hans Sloane's bequests form the nucleus of the British Museum. In 1754, Washington, who is sent to Ohio with the Virginia militia, is defeated. Accompanied by Washington, Braddock is sent to capture Fort Duquesne. In 1755, Boscawen captures French ships and war breaks out.]

Clive captures Arcot.

The British Museum.

BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT

(A.D. 1755)

JAMES GRANT

WHILE the New Englanders were employed in reducing the French in Nova Scotia, preparations were made in Virginia for attacking them upon the Ohio. The colonies on the coast had extended themselves on every side, while the Indian trade had been alluring many wandering dealers into the inland country, where they found well-watered plains and green savannas, luxuriant woods, a delightful climate, and a fruitful soil. These advantages appearing to compensate for the distance from the sea, a company of merchants and planters obtained a charter for a tract of land beyond the Alleghany Mountains, and near the stately Ohio commenced the establishment of a colony. To this part of America the French laid instant claim, and, driving away the new settlers, built a strong fort, called Duquesne, to command the entrance into the country on the Ohio and Mississippi; and from its situation it bade fair to become the most important mili-

Settlements beyond the Alleghanies.

tary work in North America, as it stood 250 miles west by north of Philadelphia.

A post, called Fort Cumberland, was now also built at Wills's Creek; and on the 14th of January, Major-General Edward Braddock sailed from Cork, in Ireland, with the regiments of Sir Peter Halkett, Bart., and Thomas Dunbar, the 44th and 48th respectively, and with these battalions he landed safely in Virginia shortly before the end of February.

Braddock arrives in Virginia.

Braddock was an officer of the Coldstream Guards, a battalion of which he had command in the Netherlands and at the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom.

Lord Mahon, in his *History of England from the Peace of Utrecht,* says thus of this officer:—

"Braddock was a man cast in the same mold as General Hawley, of a brave but brutal temper, and, like Hawley also, a personal favorite of the Duke of Cumberland. His rigorous ideas of discipline made him hateful to his soldiers; and from the same cause he held in great contempt the American militia, seeing that they could not go through their exercises with the same dexterity which he had so often admired and enforced in Hyde Park. As to the Indians, the allies of France, he treated with disdain all the warnings he received against an ambush or surprise from them; and the Indians of his own party who

Character of Braddock

would have been his surest guards against this particular peril, were so disgusted by the haughtiness of his demeanor, that most of them forsook their banners."

He was destitute of the caution, stratagem, and secrecy necessary in a leader of troops.

His second in command, Sir Peter Halkett, of Pitfirrane, in Fifeshire, was a brave and honorable officer. At the late battle of Preston Pans, he, with all the officers of his regiment (the 44th), had been taken prisoners by the Prince, but the whole were released on parole. He was one who, with five others, viz., the Honorable Mr. Ross, Captain Lucy Scott, and Lieutenants Farquharson and Cumming, refused to rejoin their regiments at the Duke of Cumberland's command and threat of forfeiting their commissions. Their reply was, "His Highness is master of these, but not of our honor." Sir Peter Halkett.

With this expedition of Braddock there was a naval force, consisting of two fifty-gun ships, under the Honorable Captain Keppel; and its departure was no sooner known at the Court of France than it began to assume a hostile disposition.

From the date of his landing, General Braddock should have been able to have entered upon action, collaterally with Colonel Monkton, early in the spring; but unfortunately he was delayed by the Virginian contractors for the army. When the latter was ready to Braddock is delayed.

march, these men had failed to provide a sufficient supply of provisions for the troops and a competent number of wagons for transport. "This accident was foreseen," says Smollett, "by almost every person who knew anything of our plantations upon the continent of America: for the people of Virginia, who think of no produce but their tobacco, and do not raise corn enough for their own subsistence, being by the nature of their country well provided with the conveniency of water conveyance, have but few wheel-carriages or beasts of burden; whereas Pennsylvania, which abounds in corn and most other sorts of provision, has but little water-carriage, especially in its western settlements, where its inhabitants have great numbers of carts, wagons, and horses."

His difficulties.

General Braddock should therefore have landed in Pennsylvania; and if his first camp had been formed at Franks Town, he would not have had more than 80 miles to march to reach Fort Duquesne, instead of 130, which the troops had to traverse from their camp at Wills's Creek. By great efforts he ultimately procured 15 wagons and 100 draught-horses, instead of 150 wagons and 300 horses, which the Virginian contractors had promised him; while the provisions they furnished were so bad as to be unfit for use.

Under these adverse circumstances he began his march through woods, deserts, and morasses; scenes very different to those where

his past experience had been,—the fertile plains of the Low Countries and the stately parks of London. Before he left the latter he had received, in the handwriting of Colonel Napier, a set of instructions from the Duke of Cumberland, indicating that he was to attack Niagara, to leave the reduction of Crown Point to the Provincial forces; but, above all, both verbally and in writing, he had been cautioned by Cumberland to beware of ambush and surprise. His instructions.

Full of his own conceit, he utterly disdained to ask the opinion of any officer under his command; and proceeded at the head of 2,200 bayonets, on the 10th of June, for the Little Meadows, the scene of Washington's reverse in the preceding year. There he found it necessary to leave part of his slender force, under Colonel Dunbar, and all his heavy baggage; and advanced with only 1,200 men and ten pieces of artillery, although he was informed the French commander in Fort Duquesne expected a fresh reinforcement of 500 regular troops. He marched on with so much expedition that he seldom took any time to reconnoitre the woods or thickets he had to pass through, as if the nearer he approached the enemy the safer he would be from danger.

On the 8th of July he encamped within ten miles of Fort Duquesne. Colonel Dunbar was now forty miles in his rear; and his officers, but more especially Sir Peter Halkett,

His lack of caution.

entreated him to proceed with caution, and employ the friendly Indians who were with them as an advanced guard, in case of ambuscades. In spite of this he resumed his march next day, without sending a single scout into the dense woods which now surrounded his slender force.

About noon the troops entered a hollow vale, on each side of which there grew a dense primeval forest and thick brushwood. Suddenly the echoes of the solitude were awakened by a fatal and appalling whoop, the war-cry of the native Indians; and in a moment there was opened upon the front and all along the left flank of Braddock's force a deadly and disastrous fire, from an enemy so skilfully and artfully disposed that not a man of them could be seen, the flashing of their muskets alone indicating where they lay. These assailants were the native Indians, assisted by a few French troops from the fort.

Attack by French and Indians.

The advanced guard instantly fell back on the main body; the panic and confusion became general, and most of the troops fled with precipitation; and, notwithstanding that all their officers behaved with the most brilliant gallantry, it was impossible to stop their career. And now General Braddock, instead of opening a fire of grape from the ten pieces of cannon he had with him, and so scouring the place whence this fusillade was coming, or despatching any of his Indians to take the am-

bush in flank, obstinately remained upon the spot where he was, and gave orders for the few brave men who remained with him to advance. Braddock's obstinacy.

Thickly fell the dead and dying around him, and all the officers were singled out in succession and shot down, as the marksmen could distinguish them by their dress, their gorgets, and sashes, which were now worn in the German fashion, round the waist. At last Braddock, whose obstinacy, pride, and courage seemed to increase with the peril around, after having no less than five horses killed under him, received a musket-shot through the right arm and lungs, of which he died in a few hours, after being carried off the field by his aide-de-camp, the Honorable Colonel Gage, and some soldiers, whom, according to Lord Mahon, that officer had to bribe by offering them a guinea and a bottle of rum each. Gage, son of the viscount of that name, died a lieutenant-general, in 1788.

When Braddock fell, the confusion of the few who remained became complete; a most disorderly flight ensued across a river which they had just passed. They were not followed, as the artillery, ammunition, and baggage of the army were all left behind; and these, together with the savage use of the tomahawk and scalping-knife on the 700 dead and wounded who lay in the little valley, afforded ample occupation for the exulting Indians. Braddock's cabinet was taken, with all his let- Confusion and flight.

ters and instructions, of which the Court of France made great use in their printed memorials and manifestoes.

British losses.

Among those who perished by the first fire were Sir Peter Halkett and his son James, a lieutenant in the 44th Regiment, and the son of Governor Shirley; among those wounded were two aides-de-camp, Captains Orm and Morris, and Sir John Sinclair, the quartermaster-general. What number of men the enemy had in this ambuscade, or what loss they sustained at the hands of the few who resisted, was never ascertained, for the survivors never halted until they reached Fort Cumberland.

THE GREAT EARTHQUAKE AT LISBON

(A.D. 1755)

J. CHASE

IT is universally agreed that all the mischief proceeded from the first three shocks of the earthquake, which were attended with a tumbling sort of motion, like the waves of the sea, so that it was amazing the houses resisted so long as they did. Three earthquake shocks.

No place nor time could have been more unlucky for the miserable people! The city was full of narrow streets; the houses strong built and high, so that their falling filled up all the passages; the day of All Saints with the Portuguese—a great holiday, when all the altars of the churches were lighted up with many candles, just at the time when they were fullest of people! Most of the churches fell immediately. The streets were thronged with people going to and from mass, many of whom must have been destroyed by the mere falling of the upper parts of the houses.

It would be impossible to pretend justly to describe the universal horror and distress that everywhere prevailed! Many saved themselves by going upon the water, while others

found there the death they hoped to have avoided. Some were wonderfully preserved by getting to the tops of their houses; more by retiring to the bottoms of them. Others, again, unhurt, were imprisoned under the ruins of their dwellings, only to be burnt alive! while two Dutchmen, in particular, were said to have escaped by the fire reaching the ruins of their house, and lighting them through passages they would not otherwise have found out. The earnest but unheeded supplications of the disabled, and the violent noisy prayers of the people, who thought it to be the Day of Judgment, added to the general distraction. In short, death in every shape soon grew familiar to the eye.

The universal horror and distress

The river is said to have risen and fallen several times successively in a most wonderful manner; at one time threatening to overflow the lower parts of the city, and directly afterward leaving the ships almost aground in the middle of its bed, showing rocks that had never been seen before.

The duration of the first shock (which came without any warning, except a great noise heard by the people near the water-side), is variously reported, but by none is estimated at less than three minutes and a half. At the latter part of it (I suppose), I was thrown over the wall, and fell about four stories, between the houses, where I must have lain but a little time, if it was the second shock that I

Duration of the first shock.

felt in the Portuguese man's house—which was said to have happened at ten o'clock (though by some people it is confounded with the first). I almost think it could not have been the third that I felt at Mr. Jorg's house; for as that took place at twelve o'clock, I must have remained a long time in the street, whereas it appeared to me that, instead of two hours, as it must have been if between the second and third shocks, I lay there scarcely a quarter of an hour.

Before I left Mr. Jorg's house on the Saturday night, about eleven o'clock, which was in the same street with ours, called Pedras Nagras, situated upon the hill leading up to the castle, I saw all the middle part of the city to the King's palace, and from thence up the opposite hill to us, leading to the Baira Alto, containing a number of parishes, all in one great blaze.

Three times I thought myself inevitably lost! The first, when I saw all the city moving like the water; the second, when I found myself shut up between four walls; and, the third time, when, with that vast fire before me, I thought myself to be abandoned in Mr. Jorg's house; and even in the square, where I remained the Saturday night and Sunday, the almost continual trembling of the earth, as well as the sinking of the great stone quay adjoining to the square, at the third great shock at twelve o'clock (covered, as it was said, with

The city in a blaze.

Sinking of the great stone quay.

three hundred people, or perhaps more justly with one hundred and fifty, who were endeavoring to get into boats, and were, boats and all, swallowed up, which was the reason so few boats ventured on the river for some time after), made me fearful lest the water had undermined the square, and that at every succeeding shock we should likewise sink; or else, as the ground was low, and even with the water, the least rising of it would overflow us. Full of these terrors, as well as the distresses already mentioned, it more than once occurred to me that the Inquisition, with all its utmost cruelty, could not have invented half such a variety of tortures for the mind as we were then suffering.

Had the general consternation been less, not only many lives, but even much property might have been saved; for the fire did not till the Saturday morning, reach the Custom-House, which stood next to the water-side, and had large open places on each side of it; so that great multitudes of bundles, which caused us so much distress, might easily have been saved by boats, as in some parts the fire was but two days in getting to them. But the King's soldiers, among whom were many foreign deserters, instead of assisting the people, turned plunderers, adding to the fires, as some before their execution confessed.

Soldiers turn plunderers.

No fire came out of the ground, but the whole was occasioned by the fallen houses;

nor were there any openings of the earth, unless the sinking of the quay was caused by one, but everywhere innumerable cracks, from many of which were thrown out water and sand.

The King sent directly to the nearest garrison for his troops, upon whose arrival order was restored; and the butchers and bakers dispersed about to provide for the people, who were not permitted to move further from the city without passes. The common people were immediately forced by the soldiers with swords drawn to bury the dead bodies, the stench growing so noisome that bad consequences were apprehended from it. The judges were also dispersed about with orders to execute upon the spot all who were found guilty of murder or theft. It was said before we left the place that there were above eighty bodies hanging upon gibbets round about the city. Several of the ships were searched, and none were allowed to leave the harbor without permission.

Severity of rules enforced.

All the heart of the city (the rich part of it) was burnt. The suburbs, which were very large, escaped, and have since been repaired. All the towns and villages round about suffered more or less. Setuval was not only thrown down and burnt, but afterward overflowed. The shock was strongly felt at Oporto, 150 miles to the northward, and even at Madrid, 300 miles from Lisbon.

Extent of the earthquake.

Every place to the south suffered greatly. The royal palace and convent at Mafra were not thrown down, nor the grand aqueduct.

The royal family were at Belem, where they most commonly resided. It was said a large stone grazed the Queen's neck as she went downstairs. None of them, however, was hurt.

The Portuguese from the first ran into two extremes; making the number of the inhabitants of their city to be much greater than it really was, and, on the other hand, as much diminishing that of the persons who perished. The former, they insisted, could not be so little as 350,000; but Mr. Hake, from many years' residence in the place, thinks 250,000 to have been the outside; and the latter they were desirous of concealing for political reasons, therefore it is unlikely that the number will ever be known. In one of their best accounts since published, it is calculated at about 15,000; but Mr. John Bristow, junior, has told me that he had from the very best authority (as I imagine, the Secretary of State) that the number of the dead found and buried was 22,000 and some hundreds; in which case, as there must have remained a yet larger number under the ruins, the computation would be moderate at 50,000 people lost by the earthquake.

Number of people killed.

There were sixty-nine British subjects killed on that occasion, most of whom were Irish

Number of British killed.

Roman Catholics. Only about twelve or thirteen English out of three hundred—a most moderate number in proportion to the general loss. This, I suppose, was greatly owing (next to Divine Providence) to the distance they were at from the streets, where the destruction was almost over before they could arrive. Mrs. Hake, sister to Sir Charles Hardy, was killed by the falling of the front of her own house, after she had got into the street. Her body was found under the rubbish three months after, not at all changed.

Joy at meeting friends.

It is inconceivable as well as inexpressible the joy it gave us to meet with one another, each thinking the other in a manner to be risen from the dead, and all having wonderful escapes to relate, all equally satisfied to have preserved their lives only, without desiring anything further. But soon, this joyful impression passing away, and cares and necessities making themselves felt, many, on considering their utterly destitute condition, almost regretted that the same stroke had not deprived them of life which had stripped them of all means of existence.

As for the Portuguese, they were entirely employed in a kind of religious madness, lugging about saints without heads or limbs, telling one another how they met with such misfortunes; and if by any chance they espied a bigger, throwing their own aside, they hauled

away the greater weight of holiness, kissing those of each other that they encountered; while their clergy declared that the earthquake was a judgment on them for their wickedness.

Behavior of the Portuguese.

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

(A.D. 1756—1763)

WILLIAM FRANCIS COLLIER

BOTH in India and America the interests of France and England had long been clashing. Open war was at last declared. Already blood had been spilled in the colonies; but it was not until 1756 that the German King of England, trembling for the safety of his beloved Hanover, formed an alliance with Frederic of Prussia, and prepared for a stern struggle. The great powers of Europe ranged themselves on one side or other. Austria, glad to see the tie between France and Prussia at last broken, took arms in the hope of recovering the lost Silesia. Thus Austria, France, Russia, Saxony, Sweden and Poland were arrayed against Prussia and England; and the great Seven Years' War began.

Opposing interests.

The Colonial War between France and England, which interweaves itself with the Seven Years' War, lies beyond our scope. We shall trace the story of the war as it affected Continental Europe only; and, to make

the sketch clearer, we shall follow the order of the seven campaigns.

Frederic invades Saxony.

Frederic began the war. At the head of 70,000 men he invaded Saxony, moving his troops by converging roads toward Dresden, the great centre of attack. He defeated the Austrians at Lowositz. Then seizing the archives of Dresden, and smashing the cabinet in which the State papers were kept, he read the whole story of the secret plot laid for the partition of Prussia. These papers he published in order to defend the step he had taken.

The second campaign—greatest of the seven—began with the invasion of Bohemia by Frederic and his Prussians. Near Prague he won a great battle over the Austrians, and then besieged the city. But the advance of the Austrian Marshal, Daun, whose intrenched camp at Kolin was the scene of Frederic's first great defeat, saved the Bohemian capital. A thunder-shower of misfortunes then seemed to burst over the head of the Prussian King. The house of Brandenburg tottered to its lowest stone,—Russians breaking through his eastern frontier, Swedes in Pomerania marching on Berlin, his friends, the English, driven in disgrace from Hanover by the French, who were rapidly advancing into Saxony. In the midst of all his mother died. He loved her well, and in his utter despair suicide seemed his only refuge from a crowd of miseries. Then came the turn of the

tide. The Russian Empress took ill, and her troops were recalled. This was one foe less. Dashing suddenly into Saxony, with only 20,000 men, he faced a French and Austrian army, twice the size of his own, at the village of Rossbach.

Invasion of Bohemia.

About eleven o'clock in the morning of a winter day, the massive lines of the allied armies advanced in battle array, exulting in their strength, and sure of victory. Frederic, seeming not to stir, silently moved his troops into a new position. Their march was concealed by the broken ground; and when, later in the day, the allies moved to the attack, they were met and broken into huddled crowds by an avalanche of horses, men, and cannon-shot, pouring with terrific speed and force upon their lines, already disordered by the hurry of their advance. In half an hour the fate of the day was decided. While Frederic lost only a few hundred men, nearly 9,000 of the foe were killed, wounded, or made prisoners.

Battle of Rossbach.

Just a month later (December 5) Frederic defeated the Austrians in the great battle of Leuthen, or Lissa, in Silesia. His tactics were here the same as at Rossbach. Feigning to attack their right wing, he suddenly concentrated a great force, which he had quietly mustered behind the hills, upon their weakened left, and swept it before him. Instead of returning the move, the Austrian general moved the right wing up to support the broken left.

Battle of Leuthen.

But he was too late; and the whole Austrian force was driven from the field, in spite of their gallant stand, maintained for a full hour among the houses of Leuthen. The action lasted from one to four in the day. The Austrians lost in killed and wounded 12,000 men; the Prussian loss was at least 5,000. The immediate results of the victory were the recapture of Silesia, which had been overrun by the Austrians, and the exaltation of Frederic to the greatest fame. London was a blaze of illumination in his honor, and the English Parliament voted him £700,000 a year.

Battle of Zorndorf.

Early in the third campaign, an army of English and Hanoverians, under the Duke of Brunswick, drove the French back across the Rhine. Later in the year, Frederic inflicted a terrible defeat upon the Russians at Zorndorf in Brandenburg. From nine in the morning till seven in the evening, the Russians, formed into a square, held their ground under incessant discharges of artillery, followed by rapid charges of horse and foot. Twenty-one thousand Russians lay slain on this fatal field. Still later in the season, Count Daun, the leader of the Austrians, broke the right wing of Frederic's army at Hochkirchen in Saxony; but on the whole the cause of the Prussian king was triumphant in the campaign. He still held Silesia; and the French had been driven from Germany.

Blow after blow fell heavily on Frederic

in the fourth year of the war. It is true that his ally, Ferdinand of Brunswick, defeated the French in the battle of Minden (August 1), thus saving the Electorate of Hanover from a second conquest. But the Prussian King himself, meeting the Russians at Kunersdorf in Brandenburg, was driven from the field with the loss of 18,000 men. Dresden was taken and held by the Austrians. An army of nearly 20,000 Prussians, hemmed in by Austrian bayonets among the passes of Bohemia, was forced to surrender at discretion to Marshal Daun.

Prussian reverses.

After some vain attempts at negotiations, the war continued with increased bitterness. Frederic was desperate. He stood at bay amid a gigantic host of 200,000 men; and all his efforts could not muster half that number. Yet with these he was victorious, gaining strength from the very hopelessness of his cause. The defeat of his general, Fouqué, in Silesia roused him to action. Drawing off Daun by a pretended march into Silesia, he turned suddenly upon Dresden. For many days a storm of cannon-shot poured upon the city, crumbling some of its finest buildings into dust. But the return of Daun, who quickly perceived the false move he had made, obliged Frederic to abandon the siege. Yet he soon made up for this temporary check. By his victory over Laudohn at Liegnitz, when three Austrian generals lay round his camp, sure

Frederic's desperate position.

Battles of Liegnitz and Torgau.

now that they had the lion in their toils, he prevented the union of the Russian and Austrian forces. Then, enraged by the pillage of Berlin, into which the Russians and Austrians had made a hasty dash, he followed up his success by an attack upon the camp of Daun, who had intrenched himself strongly at Torgau on the Elbe. Broken three times by the fire of two hundred Austrian cannon, the Prussian troops struggled bravely up to the batteries, took them, and drove the defenders in disorder across the river. Darkness alone saved the Austrians from annihilation. The immediate result of this great victory was the recovery by Frederic of all Saxony except Dresden. And, stricken with sudden fear, his enemies all shrank away from Prussia. This year is also marked by the formation of a secret treaty, called the Family Compact, formed between the Bourbons of France and Spain.

The Family Compact.

The war dragged on through its sixth campaign. The King of Prussia, thoroughly exhausted by his enormous efforts, remained in a strong camp in the heart of Silesia, watching his foes, but able to do no more. Again, we are told, the thought of suicide crossed his mind.

A death saved him. Elizabeth of Russia died on the 5th of January, 1762, and her successor, Peter III., Frederic's warm admirer and friend, not only made peace, but sent him

aid. The example set by Russia was followed by Sweden. Then came the Peace of Paris, concluded by England, France and Spain. Thus Austria and Prussia fronted each other alone, and they, too, signed the Peace of Hubertsburg, which left the face of Germany, on the whole, unchanged. Frederic still held the small province of Silesia, for the sake of which the life-blood of more than a million had been poured out like water. And so ended the great Seven Years' War, of which the Prussian King was the central figure, and in which he won imperishable renown as a gallant soldier and a daring tactician.

Peace of Hubertsburg.

[In 1756, the French take Port Mahon, Admiral Byng neglecting to relieve it. Surajah Dowlah takes Calcutta and 123 English captives are suffocated in the Black Hole.]

THE CONQUESTS OF BENGAL AND CANADA

(A.D. 1757—1764)

JOHN RICHARD GREEN

IT was fortune rather than his genius which showered on Pitt the triumphs which signalized the opening of his ministry. In the East the daring of a merchant's clerk made a company of English traders the sovereigns of Bengal, and opened that wondrous career of conquest which has added the Indian peninsula, from Ceylon to the Himalayas, to the dominion of the British crown. Recalled by broken health to England, Clive returned at the outbreak of the Seven Years' War to win for England a greater prize than that which his victories had won for it in the supremacy of the Carnatic. He had been only a few months at Madras when a crime whose horror still lingers in English memories called him to Bengal. Bengal, the delta of the Ganges, was the richest and most fertile of all the provinces of India. Its rice, its sugar, its silk, and the produce of its looms, were famous in European markets. Its viceroys, like their fellow lieutenants, had become practi-

Clive returns to India.

cally independent of the Emperor, and had added to Bengal the provinces of Orissa and Behar. Surajah Dowlah, the master of this vast domain, had long been jealous of the enterprise and wealth of the English traders; and, roused at this moment by the instigation of the French, he appeared before Fort William, seized its settlers, and thrust a hundred and fifty of them into a small prison called the Black Hole of Calcutta. The heat of an Indian summer did its work of death. The wretched prisoners trampled each other under foot in the madness of thirst, and in the morning only twenty-three remained alive. Clive sailed at the news with a thousand Englishmen and two thousand sepoys to wreak vengeance for the crime. He was no longer the boy-soldier of Arcot; and the tact and skill with which he met Surajah Dowlah in the negotiations by which the Viceroy strove to avert a conflict were sullied by the Oriental falsehood and treachery to which he stooped. But his courage remained unbroken. When the two armies faced each other on the plain of Plassey the odds were so great that on the very eve of the battle a council of war counselled retreat. Clive withdrew to a grove hard by, and after an hour's lonely musing gave the word to fight. Courage, in fact, was all that was needed. The fifty thousand foot and fourteen thousand horse who were seen covering the plain at daybreak on the 23d of

Black Hole of Calcutta.

Battle of Plassey.

June, 1757, were soon thrown into confusion by the English guns, and broke in headlong rout before the English charge. The death of Surajah Dowlah enabled the Company to place a creature of its own on the throne of Bengal; but his rule soon became a nominal one. With the victory of Plassey began in fact the Empire of England in the East.

Pitt and Frederick.

The year of Plassey was the year of a victory hardly less important in the West. There was little indeed in the military expeditions which marked the opening of Pitt's ministry to justify the trust of his country; for money and blood were lavished on buccaneering descents upon the French coasts which did small damage to the enemy. But incidents such as these had little weight in the minister's general policy. His greatness lies in the fact that he recognized the genius of Frederick the Great, and resolved to give him an energetic support. On his entry into office he refused to ratify the Convention of Closter-Seven, which had reduced Frederick to despair by throwing open his realm to a French advance; protected his flank by gathering an English and Hanoverian force on the Elbe, and on the counsel of the Prussian King placed the best of his generals, the Prince of Brunswick, at its head; while subsidy after subsidy was poured into Frederick's exhausted treasury. Pitt's trust was met by the most brilliant display of military genius which the modern world had

as yet witnessed. Two months after his repulse at Kolin, Frederick flung himself on a French army which had advanced into the heart of Germany, and annihilated it in the victory of Rossbach. Before another month had passed, he hurried from the Saale to the Oder, and by a yet more signal victory at Leuthen cleared Silesia of the Austrians. The victory of Rossbach was destined to change the fortunes of the world by bringing about the unity of Germany; its immediate effect was to force the French army on the Elbe to fall back on the Rhine. Here Ferdinand of Brunswick, reinforced with twenty thousand English soldiers, held them at bay during the summer, while Frederick, foiled in an attack on Moravia, drove the Russians back on Poland in the battle of Zorndorf. His defeat, however, by the Austrian General Daun at Hochkirch proved the first of a series of terrible misfortunes; and the year 1759 marks the lowest point of his fortunes. A fresh advance of the Russian army forced the King to attack it at Kunersdorf in August, and Frederick's repulse ended in the utter rout of his army. For the moment all seemed lost, for even Berlin lay open to the conqueror. A few days later the surrender of Dresden gave Saxony to the Austrians; and at the close of the year an attempt upon them at Plauen was foiled with terrible loss. But every disaster was retrieved by the indomitable courage and

Rossbach, Nov. 1757

Frederick's misfortunes

tenacity of the King, and winter found him, as before, master of Silesia and of all Saxony save the ground which Daun's camp covered. The year which marked the lowest point of Frederick's fortunes was the year of Pitt's greatest triumphs, the year of Minden and Quiberon and Quebec. France aimed both at a descent upon England and at the conquest of Hanover, and gathered a naval armament at Brest, while fifty thousand men under Contades and Broglie united on the Weser. Ferdinand with less than forty thousand met them on the field of Minden. The French marched along the Weser to the attack, with their flanks protected by that river and a brook which ran into it, and with their cavalry, ten thousand strong, massed in the centre. The six English regiments in Ferdinand's army fronted the French horse, and, mistaking their general's order, marched at once upon them in line, regardless of the batteries on their flank, and rolled back charge after charge with volleys of musketry. In an hour the French centre was utterly broken. "I have seen," said Contades, "what I never thought to be possible—a single line of infantry break through three lines of cavalry, ranked in order of battle, and tumble them to ruin!" Nothing but the refusal of Lord George Sackville to complete the victory by a charge of the horse which he headed saved the French from utter rout. As it was, their army again fell

Minden, Aug. 1759.

back broken on Frankfort and the Rhine. The project of an invasion of England met with like success. Eighteen thousand men lay ready to embark on board the French fleet, when Admiral Hawke came in sight of it at the mouth of Quiberon Bay. The sea was rolling high, and the coast where the French ships lay was so dangerous from its shoals and granite reefs that the pilot remonstrated with the English admiral against the project of attack. "You have done your duty in this remonstrance," Hawke coolly replied; "now lay me alongside the French admiral." Two English ships were lost on the shoals, but the French fleet was ruined and the disgrace of Byng's retreat wiped away.

Quiberon, Nov. 20.

It was not in the Old World only that the year of Minden and Quiberon brought glory to the arms of England. In Europe, Pitt had wisely limited his efforts to the support of Prussia, but across the Atlantic the field was wholly his own, and he had no sooner entered office than the desultory raids, which had hitherto been the only resistance to French aggression, were superseded by a large and comprehensive plan of attack. The sympathies of the colonies were won by an order which gave their provincial officers equal rank with the royal officers in the field. They raised at Pitt's call twenty thousand men, and taxed themselves heavily for their support. Three expeditions were simultaneously directed

The conquest of Canada.

American expeditions

against the French line—one to the Ohio valley, one against Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain, while a third under General Amherst and Admiral Boscawen sailed to the mouth of the St. Lawrence. The last was brilliantly successful. Louisburg, though defended by a garrison of five thousand men, was taken with the fleet in its harbor, and the whole province of Cape Breton reduced. The American militia supported the British troops in a vigorous campaign against the forts; and though Montcalm, with a far inferior force, was able to repulse General Abercromby from Ticonderoga, a force from Philadelphia and Virginia, guided and inspired by the courage of George Washington, made itself master of Duquesne. The name of Pittsburg, which was given to their new conquest, still commemorates the enthusiasm of the colonists for the great Minister who first opened to them the West. The next year saw the evacuation of Ticonderoga before the advance of Amherst, and the capture of Fort Niagara after the defeat of an Indian force which marched to its relief. The capture of the three forts was the close of the French effort to bar the advance of the colonists to the valley of the Mississippi, and to place in other than English hands the destinies of North America. But Pitt had resolved, not merely to foil the ambition of Montcalm, but to destroy the French rule in America altogether; and while

Louisburg taken.

Duquesne captured and named Pittsburg.

Amherst was breaking through the line of forts, an expedition under General Wolfe entered the St. Lawrence and anchored below Quebec. Wolfe had already fought at Dettingen, Fontenoy, and Laffeldt, and had played the first part in the capture of Louisburg. Pitt had discerned the genius and heroism which lay hidden beneath the awkward manner and the occasional gasconade of the young soldier of thirty-three whom he chose for the crowning exploit of the war, but for a while his sagacity seemed to have failed. No efforts could draw Montcalm from the long line of inaccessible cliffs which at this point borders the river, and for six weeks Wolfe saw his men wasting away in inactivity while he himself lay prostrate with sickness and despair. At last his resolution was fixed, and in a long line of boats the army dropped down the St. Lawrence to a point at the base of the Heights of Abraham, where a narrow path had been discovered to the summit. Not a voice broke the silence of the night save the voice of Wolfe himself, as he quietly repeated the stanzas of Gray's *Elegy in a Country Churchyard,* remarking as he closed, "I had rather be the author of that poem than take Quebec." But his nature was as brave as it was tender; he was the first to leap on shore and to scale the narrow path where no two men could go abreast. His men followed, pulling themselves to the top by the help of

Wolfe at Quebec.

bushes and the crags, and at daybreak on the 12th of September the whole army stood in orderly formation before Quebec. Montcalm hastened to attack, though his force, composed chiefly of raw militia, was far inferior in discipline to the English; his onset, however, was met by a steady fire, and at the first English advance his men gave way. Wolfe headed a charge which broke the French line, but a ball pierced his breast in the moment of victory. "They run," cried an officer who held the dying man in his arms—"I protest they run." Wolfe rallied to ask who they were that ran, and was told "The French." "Then," he murmured, "I die happy!" The fall of Montcalm in the moment of his defeat completed the victory; and the submission of Canada, on the capture of Montreal by Amherst in 1760, put an end to the dream of a French empire in America.

Death of Wolfe.

France loses Canada.

Never had England played so great a part in the history of mankind as in the year 1759. It was a year of triumphs in every quarter of the world. In September came the news of Minden, and of a victory off Lagos. In October came tidings of the capture of Quebec. November brought word of the French defeat at Quiberon. "We are forced to ask every morning what victory there is," laughed Horace Walpole, "for fear of missing one." But it was not so much in the number as in the importance of its triumphs that the Seven

Years' War stood and remains still without a rival. It is no exaggeration to say that three of its many victories determined for ages to come the destinies of mankind. With that of Rossbach began the re-creation of Germany, the revival of its political and intellectual life, the long process of its union under the leadership of Prussia and Prussia's kings. With that of Plassey the influence of Europe told for the first time since the days of Alexander on the nations of the East. The world, in Burke's gorgeous phrase, "saw one of the races of the northwest cast into the heart of Asia new manners, new doctrines, new institutions." With the triumph of Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham began the history of the United States. By removing an enemy whose dread had knit the colonists to the mother country, and by breaking through the line with which France had barred them from the basin of the Mississippi, Pitt laid the foundation of the great republic of the west. Nor were these triumphs less momentous to Britain. The Seven Years' War is a turning-point in the history of the world. Till now the relative weight of the European states had been drawn from their possessions within Europe itself. But from the close of the war it mattered little whether England counted for less or more with the nations around her. She was no longer a mere European power, no longer a mere rival of Germany or Russia

Re-creation of Germany

Importance of the Seven Years' War.

or France. Mistress of Northern America, the future mistress of India, claiming as her own the empire of the seas, Britain suddenly towered high above the nations whose position in a single continent doomed them to comparative insignificance in the after history of the world. The war indeed was hardly ended when a consciousness of the destinies that lay before the English people showed itself in the restlessness with which our seamen penetrated into far-off seas. The Atlantic was dwindling into a mere strait within the British Empire; but beyond it to the westward lay a reach of waters where the British flag was almost unknown. In the year which followed the Peace of Paris two English ships were sent on a cruise of discovery to the Straits of Magellan; three years later Captain Wallis reached the coral reefs of Tahiti; and in 1768 Captain Cook traversed the Pacific from end to end, and wherever he touched, in New Zealand, in Australia, he claimed the soil for the English Crown, and opened a new world for the expansion of the English race. Statesmen and people alike felt the change in their country's attitude. In the words of Burke, the Parliament of Britain claimed "an imperial character in which as from the throne of heaven she superintends all the several inferior legislatures, and guides and controls them all, without annihilating any." Its people, steeped in the commercial ideas of the

Britain's rise to Empire.

Voyages and discoveries

time, saw in the growth of their vast possessions, the monopoly of whose trade was reserved to the mother country, a source of boundless wealth. The trade with America alone was in 1772 nearly equal to what England carried on with the whole world at the beginning of the century. To guard and preserve so vast and lucrative a dominion became from this moment not only the aim of British statesmen but the resolve of the British people.

The American trade.

[In 1762, England declares war on Spain; helps Portugal to defeat the Spanish invasion of that kingdom and captures Havana and Manila. Peter III. of Russia is murdered by his wife, Catharine, and the Orloffs. In 1763, Niebuhr visits Arabia and Persia.]

PROSECUTION OF JOHN WILKES AND PASSING OF THE STAMP ACT

(A.D. 1763—1766)

JOHN RICHARD GREEN

GRENVILLE'S one aim was to enforce the supremacy of Parliament over subject as over king. He therefore struck fiercely at the new force of opinion which had just shown its power in the fall of Bute. The opinion of the country no sooner found itself unrepresented in Parliament than it sought an outlet in the press. In spite of the removal of the censorship after the Revolution, the press had been slow to attain any political influence. Under the first two Georges its progress had been hindered by the absence of great topics for discussion, the worthlessness of the writers, and, above all, the lethargy of the time. It was, in fact, not till the accession of George the Third that the impulse which Pitt had given to the national spirit, and the rise of a keener interest in politics, raised the press into a political power. The nation found in it a court of appeal from the Houses of Parliament. The journals became organs for that outburst of popular

Progress of the Press.

hatred which drove Lord Bute from office; and in the *North Briton* John Wilkes led the way by denouncing the Cabinet and the Peace with peculiar bitterness, and venturing to attack the hated minister by name. Wilkes was a worthless profligate, but he had a remarkable faculty of enlisting popular sympathy on his side, and by a singular irony of fortune he became the chief instrument in bringing about three of the greatest advances which our Constitution has ever made. He woke the nation to a conviction of the need for Parliamentary reform by his defence of the rights of constituencies against the despotism of the House of Commons. He took the lead in the struggle which put an end to the secrecy of Parliamentary proceedings. He was the first to establish the right of the press to discuss public affairs. In his attack on the ministry of Lord Bute, however, he was simply an organ of the general discontent. It was, indeed, his attack which more than all else determined Bute to withdraw from office. But Grenville was of stouter stuff than the court favorite, and his administration was hardly re-formed when he struck at the growing opposition to Parliament by a blow at its leader. In "Number 45," of the *North Briton,* Wilkes had censured the speech from the throne at the opening of Parliament, and a "general warrant," by the Secretary of State, was issued against the "authors, printers, and publishers of this seditious

John Wilkes.

"Number 45."

libel." Under this warrant, forty-nine persons were seized for a time; and, in spite of his privilege as a member of Parliament, Wilkes himself was sent to the Tower. The arrest, however, was so utterly illegal that he was at once released by the Court of Common Pleas; but he was immediately prosecuted for libel. While the paper which formed the subject for prosecution was still before the courts of justice, it was condemned by the House of Commons as a "false, scandalous, and seditious libel." The House of Lords at the same time voted a pamphlet, found among Wilkes's papers, to be blasphemous, and advised a prosecution. Wilkes fled to France, and was, in 1764, expelled from the House of Commons. But the assumption of an arbitrary judicial power by both Houses, and the system of terror which Grenville put in force against the press by issuing two hundred injunctions against different journals, roused a storm of indignation throughout the country. Every street resounded with cries of "Wilkes and Liberty." It was soon clear that opinion had been imbittered rather than silenced by the blow at Wilkes; and six years later, the failure of the prosecution directed against an anonymous journalist named "Junius" for his Letter to the King, established the right of the press to criticise the conduct not of ministers or Parliament only, but of the sovereign himself.

Wilkes expelled.

The same narrowness of view, the same honesty of purpose, the same obstinacy of temper, were shown by Grenville in a yet more important struggle, a struggle with the American Colonies. Pitt had waged war with characteristic profusion, and he had defrayed the cost of the war by enormous loans. At the time of the Peace of Paris, the public debt stood at a hundred and forty millions. The first need, therefore, which met Bute after the conclusion of the Peace, was that of making provision for the new burdens which the nation had incurred; and as these had been partly incurred in the defence of the American Colonies, it was the general opinion of Englishmen that the Colonies should bear a share of them. In this opinion Bute and the King concurred. But their plans went further than mere taxation. The new minister declared himself resolved on a rigorous execution of the Navigation laws, laws by which a monoply of American trade was secured to the mother country, on the raising of a revenue within the Colonies for the discharge of the debt, and, above all, on impressing upon the colonists a sense of their dependence upon Britain. The direct trade between America and the French or Spanish West Indian islands had hitherto been fettered by prohibitory duties, but these had been easily evaded by a general system of smuggling. The duties were now reduced, but the reduced duties were rigorously ex-

Grenville's obstinacy.

The Navigation laws

acted, and a considerable naval force was despatched to the American coast with a view of suppressing the clandestine trade with the foreigner. The revenue which was expected from this measure was to be supplemented by an internal Stamp Tax, a tax on all legal documents issued within the Colonies. The plans of Bute had fallen to the ground on his retirement from office. But Grenville had fully concurred in the financial part, at least, of Bute's designs; and, now that he found himself at the head of a strong administration, he proceeded to carry out the plans which had been devised for the purpose of raising both an external and an internal revenue from America. One of his first steps was to suppress, by a rigid enforcement of the Navigation laws, the contraband trade which had grown up between American ports and the adjacent Spanish islands. Harsh and unwise as these measures seemed, the colonists owned their legality; and their resentment only showed itself in a pledge to use no British manufactures till the restrictions were relaxed. But the next scheme of the Minister—his proposal to introduce internal taxation within the bounds of the Colonies themselves by reviving the project of an excise or stamp duty, which Walpole's good sense had rejected—was of another order from his schemes for suppressing the contraband traffic. Unlike the system of the Navigation Acts, it was a gigantic change in

The Stamp Act.

Contraband trade

the whole actual relations of England and its Colonies. They met it, therefore, in another spirit. Taxation and representation, they asserted, went hand in hand. America had no representatives in the British Parliament. The representatives of the colonists met in their own colonial assemblies, and all save the Pennsylvanians protested strongly against the interference of Parliament with their right of self-taxation. Massachusetts marked accurately the position she took. "Prohibitions of trade are neither equitable nor just; but the power of taxing is the grand barrier of British liberty. If that is once broken down, all is lost." The distinction was accepted by the assembly of every colony; and it was with their protest that they despatched Benjamin Franklin, who had risen from his position of a working printer, in Philadelphia, to high repute among scientific discoverers, as their agent to England. In England, however, Franklin found few who recognized the distinction which the colonists had drawn. Grenville had no mind to change his plans without an assurance, which Franklin could not give, of a union of the Colonies to tax themselves; and the Stamp Act was passed through both Houses with less opposition than a turnpike bill.

Representation and taxation.

Franklin's mission, 1765.

The Stamp Act was hardly passed when an insult offered to the Princess Dowager, by the exclusion of her name from a Regency Act,

brought to a head the quarrel which had long been growing between the ministry and the King. George again offered power to William Pitt. But Pitt stood absolutely alone. The one friend who remained to him, his brother-in-law, Lord Temple, refused to aid in an attempt to construct a Cabinet; and he felt himself too weak, when thus deserted, to hold his ground in any ministerial combination with the Whigs. The King turned for help to the main body of the Whigs, now headed by the Marquis of Rockingham. The weakness of the ministry which Rockingham formed in July, 1765, was seen in its slowness to deal with American affairs. Franklin had seen no other course for the Colonies, when the obnoxious Acts were passed, but that of submission. But submission was the last thing the colonists dreamed of. Everywhere through New England riots broke out on the news of the arrival of the stamped paper; and the frightened collectors resigned their posts. Northern and Southern States were drawn together by the new danger. The assembly of Virginia was the first to formally deny the right of the British Parliament to meddle with internal taxation, and to demand the repeal of the acts. Massachusetts not only adopted the denial and the demand as its own, but proposed a Congress of delegates from all the colonial assemblies to provide for common and united action; and in October, 1765, this

The Rockingham Ministry.

The Colonial Congress.

Congress met to repeat the protest and petition of Virginia. The news of its assembly reached England at the end of the year, and at once called Pitt to the front when the Houses met in the spring of 1766. As a minister, he had long since rejected a similar scheme for taxing the colonies. He had been ill and absent from Parliament when the Stamp Act was passed, but he adopted to the full the constitutional claim of America. He gloried in a resistance which was denounced in Parliament as rebellion. "In my opinion," he said, "this kingdom has no right to lay a tax on the Colonies. . . . America is obstinate! America is almost in open rebellion! Sir, I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest."

[In 1763, France surrenders nearly all her American possessions, and the Mississippi is fixed as the western boundary. In 1765, Blackstone publishes his *Commentaries* on the laws of England. In 1767, Clive leaves India, which falls into confusion until Warren Hastings arrives. In 1768, France buys Corsica from Genoa. Maria Theresa gives up all claim to Silesia, the Pope confiscates Parma. Civil war breaks out in Poland, and war between Turkey and Russia.]

COOK'S AUSTRALIAN DISCOVERIES

(A.D. 1768—1771)

ALBERT HASTINGS MARKHAM

IN spite of the numerous voyages that had been made to the great southern continent, our knowledge of the coast of Terra Australis was very incomplete and very limited, when Captain James Cook sailed on his first voyage of discovery in 1768. The western coast of Australia was then known as New Holland; it had been more frequently sighted and visited by navigators than any other part of the continent. The east coast was entirely unknown. New Guinea to the north, and Van Diemen's Land to the south, were believed to be portions of one and the same continent, the latter being supposed to be a prolongation of the land discovered by Pieter Nuyts to the southward. Even the Australia del Espiritu Santo of Quiros was, if in existence, supposed to belong to the mainland. All was vagueness, uncertainty, and conjecture. It remained for our great navigator, Cook, to lift the veil of doubt and uncertainty which still enshrouded the great southern

Vague knowledge of Australia

land, and by his ability and energy to give to his country a continent that in riches and importance is now second to no empire in the world.

Captain Cook sailed from England in the *Endeavour* on the 26th August, 1768; the principal object of the expedition which he commanded being a voyage to the South Sea for the purpose of observing the transit of Venus. This being accomplished, the *Endeavour* was ordered to prosecute discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere, and make a more accurate examination of the Pacific Ocean. Cook was accompanied by Sir Joseph Banks, afterward president of the Royal Society, a great scholar and an ardent investigator in the pursuit of science, and by Dr. Solander, an accomplished botanist and naturalist. Cook's first voyage.

The transit of Venus having been satisfactorily observed on the 3d of June, 1769, at Otaheite, the *Endeavour,* after a stay of three months at that island, sailed on the 13th of the following month, and after cruising for a short time among the islands which were named by Cook the Society Group, a course was shaped for New Zealand, which was sighted at daylight on October the 6th. On the 8th the ship dropped anchor in a large bay, which received the name of Poverty Bay, on account of the inhospitable, not to say hostile, reception the expedition met with The Society Islands.

at the hands of the natives. Some months were profitably employed in the exploration of the coast of this little known land, during which New Zealand was completely circumnavigated, and found to consist of two large islands; after much valuable and important geographical work had been accomplished, the *Endeavour* sailed to the westward, bent on further exploration and research. On the morning of the 18th of April, 1770, land was observed by the first lieutenant, and was named, after him, Point Hicks. Thence Captain Cook sailed northward, and rounding the southeast point of Australia, which he called Cape Howe, he anchored in a safe and capacious bayou on the 26th, which was subsequently named Botany Bay, in consequence of the great variety and richness of the plants collected there by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander. Here they remained for ten days, engaged in scientific pursuits and in endeavoring to conciliate the natives, many of whom were induced to come down to the ship.

Botany Bay.

Sailing on the 6th of May, they proceeded to the northward, discovering and naming Port Jackson, on the shores of which is now situated the important city of Sydney, the capital of New South Wales. Moreton Bay, at the head of which now stands Brisbane, the capital of Queensland, was also discovered and named.

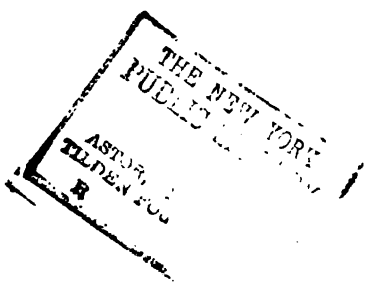
New South Wales.

During this voyage, Captain Cook sailed

WATT DISCOVERING THE CONDENSATION OF STEAM

From the painting by Stone

—Vol. V, pages 1650-1658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along the entire eastern coast of Australia, which he named New South Wales, taking possession of it in the name of his Majesty King George the Third. Hitherto the *Endeavour* had been safely navigated among dangerous shoals and hidden rocks, and other unknown dangers, with a surprising immunity from disaster. This exemption from casualties was, however, not to last; for at about eleven o'clock on the night of the 10th of June, 1770, the ship struck heavily on a rock, and remained immovable. The situation was certainly not a pleasant one, for the loss of the ship meant the possible loss of all on board, as the chances of saving themselves by their boats alone, so many thousands of miles from any place where they could hope to obtain relief and succor, were very small indeed. Everything was, however, done that skill and experience could suggest in order to extricate the ship from her perilous condition, but for some time without avail, and she continued to beat with great violence on the rocks upon which she had struck. By the dim light of the moon that prevailed, they could see portions of the false keel, and other parts of the bottom of their good ship, that had been torn and wrenched off by the sharp, jagged edges of the rocks, floating around them, and it seemed extremely improbable that she would hold together for another tide. Fortunately there was but little wind, and as the tide fell,

The *Endeavour* on the rocks.

the ship settled down more quietly in her rocky cradle. Every effort was then made to lighten her; six guns were thrown overboard, as well as a quantity of iron and stone ballast and other stores, and the water was also started. When daylight broke, they found the ship was making a considerable amount of water, which the pumps were unable to control. The great fear now was that as the tide rose, the ship might float off, and immediately sink in deeper water; but, to their great surprise, and no less gratification, they found when she floated, that not only were their fears groundless, but also that the pumps gained considerably on the leak. In order to obtain this advantage, however, the men had to remain unceasingly at work. The ship was then brought in close to the land, and anchored in a snug little harbor at the mouth of a river, which received the name of Endeavour River, and here she was thoroughly overhauled and repaired. The point of land in the immediate vicinity of the scene of the disaster was called Point Tribulation, to commemorate the unfortunate event. It was during the time the ship was in Endeavour River that kangaroos were first seen, killed, and eaten. The repairs being effected, a start was once more made; and sailing through Torres Strait, though not without experiencing many dangers and no few difficulties, Cook returned to England, passing the Lizard on the 10th of

A happy deliverance

The first kangaroos.

June, 1771, thus completing his first voyage of discovery in the South Seas, during which time he circumnavigated New Zealand, sailed along the entire east coast of Australia, and performed altogether one of the most remarkable voyages on record. First voyage ended.

THE INVENTION OF THE STEAM-ENGINE

(A.D. 1768)

CHARLES KNIGHT

IN the year 1757, over the door of a staircase opening from the quadrangle of the college of Glasgow, was exhibited a board, inscribed "James Watt, Mathematical-Instrument Maker to the University." In a room of small dimensions sat a young man in his twenty-first year, filing and polishing quadrants and sectors, to sell for his livelihood. He had come in his eighteenth year from his paternal home, at Greenock, where his father carried on the business of a ship-chandler, to endeavor to learn the art of a mathematical-instrument maker; but he could find no one in Glasgow capable of instructing him. By the advice of a kinsman of his mother, who was a Professor in the Glasgow University, he went to London with the same object. For a year he worked with intense application in a shop in Finch Lane, Cornhill; but his health failing, he returned to Glasgow, having become a skilful mechanic, and possessing the far greater advantage of a sound mathemati-

Watt's early struggles.

cal education. He endeavored to establish a shop in that city. The worshipful Company of Hammermen,—in that spirit of exclusiveness which the lapse of a century has scarcely eradicated, where Guilds and Corporations have any remnant of antiquated privileges,— resolved to prevent James Watt exercising his art. He was, however, employed within the precincts of the University to repair some astronomical instruments; and several of the professors took the ingenious young man under their protection, and gave him a workshop within their walls. Here he soon attracted the notice, and received the kind attentions, of men whose names will be held ever in veneration—Adam Smith, Robert Simson, and Joseph Black. To these eminent philosophers even the members of the Company of Hammermen would lowly bow; as they bowed to the magnates of Glasgow, the tobacco lords who walked in scarlet cloaks and bushy wigs apart at the Cross, and to any one of whom no tradesman dared speak till he caught the great man's eye, and was invited by him to come across the street and impart his humble request. Watt had an ardent friend in a college student, John Robison, about the same age with himself, who had also a genius for scientific pursuits. He has recounted that when he first went into Watt's little shop, and expected to see only a workman, he was surprised to find the quadrant-maker his supe-

Guild opposition.

Robison's tribute.

rior in philosophy. But Robison left the University; went to sea as a midshipman; and was in the boat on the St. Lawrence with Wolfe, on the morning on which the Heights of Abraham were scaled. The friends had conversed about steam-engines before Robison's departure. When the young man returned, in 1763, —having been employed by the Admiralty to take charge of Harrison's chronometer on a voyage to Jamaica, to test its sufficiency for determining the longitude of a ship at sea,— he found that his old companion, in the college workshop, had been making more rapid advances in scientific attainments than himself; and had been long engaged in trying experiments in the construction of a steam-engine, upon principles different from that in common use. He had lighted upon the same principle as that now employed in a high-pressure engine. In that year, of 1763, a small model of Newcomen's engine was put into the charge of Watt to repair. The imperfections of that invention, known as "the atmospheric engine," were evident to him; and he long labored unsuccessfully to discover how its defects could be remedied. The radical defect was, that three times as much heat as was necessary for the action of the machine was lost. If one-fourth of the heat could generate an equal amount of available steam, the saving of fuel alone would ensure the adoption of an engine constructed to produce such an impor-

The "Atmospheric engine."

tant economy. Newcomen's machine was used in draining mines, in raising water to turn water-wheels, and in blowing furnaces for iron-smelting. But its expense of working was enormous. Its construction was clumsy and imperfect. We may imagine Adam Smith telling Watt the story which he has so well told in the *Wealth of Nations,* of the first fire-engine; in which "a boy was constantly employed to open and shut alternately the communication between the boiler and the cylinder, according as the piston either ascended or descended;" and how the boy, wanting to play, found out that "by tying a string from the handle of the valve which opened this communication to another part of the machine, the valve would open and shut without his assistance." Improvements such as this had been accomplished by accidental observation. What improvements might not be effected by careful examination, grounded upon scientific knowledge? The experimental philosopher was still working in the dark, when he discovered that water converted into steam would heat about six times its own weight of water at 47° or 48° to 212°. He mentioned this fact to Dr. Black, who then explained to him his doctrine of latent heat, with which Watt had been previously unacquainted. He says of himself, that "he stumbled upon one of the material facts by which that beautiful theory is supported." Among

Adam Smith's story.

Black's theory of latent heat.

Sir John Herschel on Black's theory.

the principal features of scientific progress at this period, Sir John Herschel includes "the development of the doctrine of latent heat by Black, with its train of important consequences, including the scientific theory of the steam-engine." The ceaseless preparatory labor of thought was now to produce its results. In a solitary walk, Watt solved the great problem upon which he had been so long intent. The necessity of working for his bread, while he eagerly desired to bring his ideas into a practical shape, was still forced upon him. But he saw his way. The invention was complete in his mind. To have a model constructed was a work of great difficulty. He had no capital to employ in engaging better workmen than the blacksmiths and tinmen of Glasgow. He struggled against these difficulties till he found a zealous and powerful ally in Dr. Roebuck. At length, in May, 1768, Watt had the happiness of congratulating his friend on the achievements of their mutual hopes: "I sincerely wish you joy of this successful result, and hope it will make you some return for the obligations I ever will remain under to you."

Dr. Roebuck's aid.

Watt meets Boulton.

It was agreed that a patent should be taken out; and Watt repaired to London to accomplish this business. On his way thither he had an interview, at Birmingham, with Matthew Boulton, who desired to join in the speculation. This eminent manufacturer, in every

quality of sterling integrity, of generous feelings, of skill in organization, of prudent enterprise, was worthy of being the associate of a man of genius like Watt, who was timid, and sometimes desponding. Their partnership was, unfortunately, deferred till 1773, for Roebuck would not admit Boulton to a share of the patent, except upon terms to which the prosperous and ingenious proprietor of the works at Soho could not agree. Watt, meanwhile, had to maintain himself by the superintendence of several canals then in course of construction. The employment was disagreeable to him. He had no advantage from working his patent, for his partner, Roebuck, was engaged in too many losing undertakings to advance more capital. At length that partner, in whose misfortune Watt deeply sympathized, agreed to sell his property in the patent to Boulton. In 1774, Watt went to Birmingham to superintend the construction of his machines; and he wrote to his father, "The fire-engine I have invented is now going, and answers much better than any other that has yet been made." There was very soon a change in the character of Boulton's manufactory. Dr. Johnson kept a Diary of a tour in Wales, in 1774. On the 20th of September is this entry: "We went to Boulton's, who, with great civility, led us through his shops. I could not distinctly see his enginery—Twelve dozen of buttons for three shillings—Spoons

Roebuck sells out.

Watt goes to Birmingham.

struck at once." In 1776, Johnson and Boswell made an excursion to Oxford, and also saw Birmingham, of which Boswell has this record: "Mr. Hector was so good as to accompany me to see the great works of Mr. Boulton, at a place which he has called Soho, about two miles from Birmingham, which the very ingenious proprietor showed me himself to the best advantage. I wished Johnson had been with us; for it was a scene which I should have been glad to contemplate by his light. The vastness and the contrivance of some of the machinery would have matched his mighty mind. I shall never forget Mr. Boulton's expression to me,—'I sell here, sir, what all the world desires to have—Power!'"

Boulton's works.

It is unnecessary, for our purpose, that we should pursue the history of the final establishment of the steam-engine of Watt to be the great operative power of the larger industries of Britain. It quickly superseded Newcomen's machines in draining the Cornish tin and copper mines. It multiplied cotton-mills in the towns of Lancashire and of Scotland, without reference to the previous necessity of choosing localities on the banks of the Irwell or the Derwent, the Tweed or the Clyde. It was blowing the iron furnaces of Dudley, and hammering steel at Sheffield. It was forging anchors and impelling block-machinery at Portsmouth. Yet it was ten years before Boulton and Watt derived any profit from the

Establishment of the steam-engine.

discovery. They had to struggle, in the first instance, against the common prejudice which attaches to every new invention. All the business sagacity of Boulton was necessary to encourage its use by the most moderate price; or by stipulating only for a royalty upon the amount of fuel which it saved, charging nothing for the engine. The partners had to contend, in actions at law, against unscrupulous pirates. But Parliament, in 1775, had granted an extension of the patent, and the reward to the inventor and his admirable associate would come in time. They would be repaid, however tardily, by the pecuniary fruits of their skill and perseverance, before the invention was thrown open to the world. But even before that period what mighty effects had been produced upon British industry by this crowning triumph of an enterprising age! Without its aid the energy of the people had more than counterbalanced the waste of the national resources by an absolute government in a foolish and unjust war. The steam-engine of the "Mathematical-Instrument Maker to the University of Glasgow" gave a new impulse to the same energy in another war against a gigantic military despotism, wielded by a man originally as humble as himself—a student of the Military School of Brienne. Captain Sword and Captain Steam were to engage in a struggle not less arduous than that of "Captain Sword and Captain Pen." The one was

Prejudice and piracy.

Captain Sword and Captain Steam.

to lay prosperous cities in ashes; the other was to build up new cities in desolate places. The one was to close the havens of ancient commerce; the other was to freight ships with products of such surpassing excellence and cheapness, that no tyrannous edicts could exclude them from oppressed nations. The one was to derange every effort of Continental industry; the other was to harmonize every form of British labor and invention, by lending to each an intensity and a concentration previously unknown. The one was to attempt the subjugation of the intellect by brute force; the other was to complete "the dominion of mind over the most refractory qualities of matter":

The value of Watt's steam-engine.

"Engine of Watt! unrivall'd is thy sway.
Compared with thine, what is the tyrant's power?
His might destroys, while thine creates and saves.
Thy triumphs live and grow, like fruit and flower,
But his are writ in blood, and read on graves." *

[In 1769, the Letters of Junius bitterly attack the English King and ministry. Russia defeats the Turks and occupies Moldavia and Bucharest. Portugal loses its last foothold in Morocco. Wedgwood opens potteries in Staffordshire. In 1770, Struensee attains supreme power in Denmark by the support of the Queen and introduces many reforms.]

* Elliott.—*Steam at Sheffield.*

PARTITION OF POLAND

(A.D. 1770—1777)

CHARLOTTE M. YONGE

FRANCE obtained the island of Corsica, hitherto the discontented possession of the Republic of Genoa. After French troops had several times assisted to quell revolts, the Genoese power finally sold the isle to Louis XV., but the islanders struggled hard for independence under their leader, Pasquale Paoli, and there was a seven years' war before they were reduced, and he took refuge in England. The most important consequence of this acquisition was that a certain obscure Corsican family, named Buonaparte, were thus attached to the fortunes of France.

Corsica sold to Louis XV.

Choiseul drew the alliance with Austria closer by a marriage between the young Dauphin and Marie Antoinette, the youngest daughter of Maria Theresa, a lovely, engaging, volatile girl of fourteen, full of high spirits, beneath which were sound principles to come to her help in time of need.

The marriage of the Dauphin was the last negotiation conducted by Choiseul. The King

Marriage of the Dauphin.

was rendered jealous of him by being told that he consulted him too little, sent him into exile to his own estates, and took the Duc d'Aiguillon and the Chancellor Maupéou as his advisers. Choiseul had always been attentive to the affairs of Poland, not only because the royal family were nearly connected with it, but because he was convinced that the unruly Sclavonic kingdom was a valuable check upon the growing power of Russia and of Prussia. His fall, therefore, smoothed the way for the designs that were being secretly matured between Frederick and Catherine, for committing one of the most wicked acts of aggression perpetrated in all modern times.

Prussia and Russia in alliance.

Frederick sent his brother Heinrich to confer with Catherine at Petersburg, where he was entertained with the utmost splendor, and all the Czaritza's improvements were displayed to him. The court was very unlike that of Berlin, where a stern, plain, heathen sort of morality prevailed, while at Petersburg the most scandalous profligacy was hardly regarded as matter of shame; and yet, for the sake of gratifying the people, the Czaritza made an outward profession of religion. She showed how, with the most depraved conduct, there can yet be a strong intellect, great taste for art and literature, and a clear-sighted desire to improve and instruct others. The designs of Peter the Great were carried out by her, while her palace was the scene of almost

Catherine's magnificence.

Eastern magnificence and luxury. She displayed all her splendors before Prince Heinrich, but throughout he preserved the most imperturbable gravity, even when at a masquerade, a lively Frenchman appeared before him as a green parrot, fluttering, hopping, and chattering, and finally, calling out to his face, "Henri! Henri!"

In private Heinrich accomplished his mission, and it was agreed that Poland should be divided between the Czaritza and the King. "I will undertake to frighten Turkey, and to flatter England," said Catherine. "You must buy over Austria that she may amuse France."

The frightening of Turkey was done on a large scale. Mustafa III. had declared war against Russia, and Catherine attacked him at once by land and sea. She had paid great attention to her navy, into which she had invited many English officers, and she had a large fleet both at Cronstadt and Archangel. This she caused to sail round into the Mediterranean, and attack the Turks in the Archipelago, where she had a secret understanding with many of the Greek Christians of the isles. Many of the islands, and some of the Peloponnesian cities, fell into the hands of the Russians, and the Turkish fleet, coming out to oppose them, was defeated near the isle of Scio, and chased into the bay of Tchesme, where, by a gallant exploit of the English Vice-Admiral Elphinstone, four fire-ships

Catherine attacks Turkey.

Destruction of the Turkish navy.

were sent by night among the vessels, crowded into a narrow bay, and burnt the whole Turkish navy, so that the Russian fleet commanded the whole of the Turkish seas, and laid siege to the isle of Lemnos.

Gazi Hassan's success.

Gazi Hassan, an adventurer born on the borders of Persia, who had been a boatman, a chief at Algiers, and a prisoner at Constantinople, but throughout all a devout Mussulman, proposed to the Grand Vizier to attack the Russian fleet with four thousand of the lowest rank at Constantinople, whom he undertook to arm with sword and pistol, and to transport to Lemnos in boats or rafts, without artillery. The Grand Vizier consented, believing the scheme utterly impracticable, but glad to be rid of four thousand of the rabble. However, the gallant Hassan landed unperceived, led his troops upon the enemy with a furious onset, and drove them to their ships in such a panic that they weighed anchor and raised the siege. He was made Capidan Pasha, and so well maintained the honor of his flag, that the Russians were finally obliged to sail back to the Baltic, while the Turks wreaked vengeance in horrible massacres of the unfortunate Greeks of the Morea and the Isles.

Massacre of the Greeks.

At the same time, General Romanzoff attacked the Grand Vizier on the banks of the Danube, gained a great victory at Kagul, and received the submission of the three great

provinces of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Bessarabia.

These being the close neighbors of Austria, that power was alarmed by the progress of Russia, and offered mediation. This was the time for Frederick to play his part. He had to deal with Joseph II., over whom his ascendency of character had gained great influence. Joseph admired him so enthusiastically that, under the name of Count Falkenstein, he had come to Neisse, in Silesia, to pay him a visit, and had said to him, "Silesia no longer exists for the House of Austria." So intimate had they become that Frederick even asked Joseph how his mother had approved of his opinions, to which he answered that she blamed and pitied him, but quite maternally, and trusting that he would change. He termed Frederick "the King, my Master"; and Frederick had his palace of Sans Souci hung with his portraits, calling him a young man of whom he could not see too much. As at this first meeting Frederick dressed himself and his suite in the white Austrian uniform, lest their own might excite unpleasant reminiscences; when they met the next year at Neustadt, Joseph and his train came in the blue of Prussia, saying, "Here are a troop of recruits for your Majesty."

Joseph's admiration of Frederick.

At this interview, Joseph was drawn into the nefarious scheme, on the promise of a third part of the spoil; but the Empress

Joseph favors partition of Poland.

Maria Theresa's disapproval

Queen, on hearing of it, protested strongly against the project, but in vain, though she wrote, "When all my lands were invaded, and I knew not where I could in quiet give birth to my child, I firmly relied on my own good right, and on the help of God. Now, when public right cries out to Heaven against us, and when against us are justice and sound reason, I own that never in my whole life did I feel so anxious, and that I am ashamed to let myself be seen. What an example we shall set the whole world if for a wretched piece of Poland we give up honor and fair fame! I plainly perceive that I stand alone, and am no longer *en vigueur,* therefore I let things take their course, though not without the greatest grief."

To her objections, Frederick's sneering remark was, "I would as soon undertake to write the Jewish history in madrigals as to make three sovereigns agree, especially when two of them are women."

The treaty.

The treaty then was made for dividing Poland: giving Austria the Lordship of Zips, which was said once to have belonged to Hungary; to Prussia, a district that had once been under the Teutonic Knights; and to Russia, all Livonia, the district from the Beresina to the Niemen. On the edge of the copy of the treaty, the Empress Queen wrote, "*Placet,* because so many great and learned men will have it so; but after I am dead and gone, peo-

ple will see the consequences of thus breaking through all that has hitherto been held holy and just. M. Th."

In vain, she protested. The miserable kingdom, divided against itself, was in a state both to deserve and invite the spoiler. Stanislaus and his Diet had been quarrelling ever since his election, chiefly on account of the disputes between Roman Catholics and Protestants, or persons of the Greek Church. The Russian power, to which Stanislaus was devoted, was exercised in favor of the Dissidents, as they were called, and this gave great offence to the other party.

Polish dissensions.

In 1771, as King Stanislaus was being driven through the outskirts of Warsaw, at ten o'clock at night, he was attacked by a body of conspirators, who put his attendants to flight, wounded him, and dragged him into the forests; but they seem not to have known what to do next; they tore off the diamond star and crosses from his coat, and then dispersed in small parties through the woods, till the King, being left alone with one man, named Kosinski, persuaded him to repent of the outrage, and to conduct him to a mill, whence he safely returned to his capital.

Warsaw occupied by Russia.

This attack gave the Czaritza a pretext for filling Warsaw with Russian troops, professedly to protect Stanislaus; but the Austrians, fearing to lose the prey, filled Zips likewise with their forces, and, Frederick likewise tak-

ing up arms, the three powers sent in their demands to the Diet of Poland.

Danger and misfortune had inspired neither unity nor patriotism. Some of the nobles were bribed by one power, some by another, and all hated and distrusted the King. They disputed and abused each other and the King, till, gathering dignity from his extremity, Stanislaus threw his hat angrily on the ground, saying, "Gentlemen, I am weary of hearkening to your disputes. To yourselves alone you should attribute your misfortunes. For me, if no more territory should be left me than could be covered by this hat, I should still be your lawful, though unhappy King."

Distrust of Stanislaus.

True as were his words, his connection with Russia was so much distrusted, that there was no attempt to rally round him while yet there might have been time. No help came from elsewhere. England would not break the peace with the continent even to hinder this wicked injustice, and the protest of France only consisted in a disconsolate exclamation of Louis XV., "If Choiseul were here still, I should not suffer this." Treasure, skill, and spirit were all wanting, and so far from aiding others, the French monarchy was drifting on toward ruin.

The Polish Diet yields.

The helpless and distracted Polish Diet yielded, and the once extensive kingdom was reduced to a mere shred, while even that poor remnant was tyrannized over by Catherine,

whose ambassador took every occasion of showing that he looked on Stanislaus rather as an inferior than a sovereign. The worst features of the wretched old constitution were forced upon the Diet, and they were obliged to enact a law against ever again electing a foreign prince, since their oppressors dreaded their being raised up by any external influence.

The Poles who fell under Prussian dominion were much better off than those who were left to themselves, for Frederick set to work vigorously with his improvements—building, cultivating, introducing arts, and raising the condition of the serfs, so that although they made a great outcry at being reformed against their will, their happiness was in the end much increased.

Better condition of the Prussian Poles.

[In 1772, Gustavus of Sweden revokes the constitution and makes himself an absolute monarch and ends the factions of Hats and Caps. The King of Denmark arrests his Queen and Struensee; the latter is executed. Warren Hastings goes to Bengal as governor. Captain Cook sails to explore the Southern Continent and discovers New Caledonia. In 1773, the Society of Jesus is abolished, but continues to exist in Russia and Prussia. A serious rebellion in Russia hinders progress against Turkey.]

DESTRUCTION OF TEA IN BOSTON HARBOR

(A.D. 1773)

CHARLES KNIGHT

IT was Sunday, the 28th of November, 1773, when there sailed into Boston Harbor the English merchant-ship *Dartmouth*, laden with chests of tea belonging to the East India Company. The Act of Parliament which allowed the Treasury to license vessels to export the teas of the Company to the American colonies, free of duty, was the signal for popular gatherings in Boston. Samuel Adams, in the *Boston Gazette,* roused again that feeling of resistance which had partially subsided. The Governor of Massachusetts, in October, wrote to Lord Dartmouth, who had succeeded Lord Hillsborough as Colonial Secretary, that Samuel Adams, "who was the first person that openly, and in any public assembly, declared for a total independence," had "obtained such an ascendency as to direct the town of Boston and the House of Representatives, and consequently the Council, just as he pleases." The East India Company had appointed its consignees in Boston. On the night of the 2d of

Arrival of the *Dartmouth.*

Adams stirs up resistance.

November, summonses were left at the houses of each of these persons, requiring them to appear on a certain day at Liberty Tree, to resign their commissions; and notices were issued desiring the freemen of Boston and of the neighboring towns to assemble at the same place. The consignees did not appear; but a committee of the Assembly traced them to a warehouse, where they were met to consult. They were required not to sell the teas, but to return them to London by the vessels which might bring them. They refused to comply, and were denounced as enemies to their country. Philadelphia had previously compelled the agents of the Company to resign their appointments. Town meetings were held at Boston, when strong resolutions were adopted. In this state of things, on that Sunday, the 28th of November, the first tea-ship arrived. The New England colonists preserved that strict observance of the Sabbath which their Puritan fathers felt the highest of duties. But it was a work of necessity to impede the landing of the tea; and a committee met twice on that Sunday to concert measures. They obtained a promise from Rotch, the commander of the ship *Dartmouth,* that his vessel should not be entered till the following Tuesday. On Monday, the Committee of all the neighboring towns assembled at Boston; and five thousand persons agreed that the tea should be sent back to the place whence it came. "Throw it over-

Demands on the consignees.

Two meetings on Sunday.

board," cried one. The consignees, alarmed at this demonstration, declared that they would not send back the teas, but that they would store them. This proposal was received with scorn; and then the consignees agreed that the teas should not be landed. But there was a legal difficulty. If the rest of the cargo were landed, and the tea not landed, the vessel could not be cleared in Boston, and after twenty days was liable to seizure. Two more ships arrived, and anchored by the side of the *Dartmouth*. The people kept watch night and day to prevent any attempt at landing the teas. Thirteen days after the arrival of the *Dartmouth*, the owner was summoned before the Boston Committee, and told that his vessel and his tea must be taken back to London. It was out of his power to do so, he said. He certainly had not the power; for the passages out of the harbor were guarded by two King's ships, to prevent any vessel going to sea without a license. On the 16th, the revenue officers would have legal authority to take possession of the *Dartmouth*. For three days previous there had been meetings of the Boston Committee; but their journal had only this entry—"No business transacted matter of record."

Two more ships arrive

On the 16th of December, there was a meeting in Boston of seven thousand persons, who resolved that the tea should not be landed. The master of the *Dartmouth* was ordered to

THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL

From the painting by Trumbull

—Vol. V, page 1692

NEW YORK

apply to the Governor for a pass, for his vessel to proceed on her return voyage to London. The Governor was at his country house. Many of the leaders had adjourned to a church, to wait his answer. The night had come on when Rotch returned, and announced that the Governor had refused him a pass, because his ship had not cleared. There was no more hesitation. Forty or fifty men, disguised as Mohawks, raised the war-whoop at the porch of the church; went on to the wharf where the three ships lay alongside; took possession of them; and deliberately emptied three hundred and forty chests of tea into the waters of the bay. It was the work of three hours. Not a sound was heard but that of breaking open the chests. The people of Boston went to their rest, as if no extraordinary event had occurred.

The tea is thrown overboard.

On the 27th of January, 1774, the news of this decisive act reached the English Government. On the 29th there was a great meeting of the Lords of the Council, to consider a petition from Massachusetts, for the dismissal of Hutchinson, the Governor, and Oliver, the Lieutenant-Governor. Dr. Franklin appeared before the Council as agent for Massachusetts. He had obtained possession of some private letters written confidentially several years before, in which Hutchinson and Oliver avowed sentiments opposed to what they considered the licentiousness of the Colonists.

Franklin before the Council.

These letters Franklin transmitted to the Assembly at Boston, who voted, by a large majority, that the opinions expressed contemplated the establishment of arbitrary power; and they accordingly petitioned for the removal of the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor. The intelligence from Boston of the destruction of the teas was not likely to propitiate the Council. Franklin was treated with little respect; and Wedderburn, the Solicitor-General, assailed him with a torrent of invective, at which the Lords cheered and laughed. Franklin bore the assaults with perfect equanimity; but from that hour he ceased to be a mediator between Great Britain and the Colonists. The Council reported that the Petition from Massachusetts was "groundless, vexatious, and scandalous." Two days after, Franklin was dismissed from his office of Deputy Postmaster-General. He said to Priestley, who was present at the Council, that he considered the thing for which he had been so insulted as one of the best actions of his life.

His dismissal.

The Parliament had met on the 13th of January. It was the 7th of March when Lord North delivered the King's message relating to "the violent and outrageous proceedings at the town and port of Boston, in the province of Massachusetts Bay, with a view to obstructing the commerce of this kingdom, and upon grounds and pretences immediately subver-

Government plans.

sive of the constitution thereof." There was a debate, of which the most remarkable part was, that when Lord North stated that the proper papers should be ready on the following Friday, Thurlow, the Attorney-General, said, loud enough to reach the ear of the minister, "I never heard anything so impudent; he has no plan yet ready." The one plan which first presented itself—the most unfortunate of all plans—is exhibited in a note of the King to Lord North, dated the 4th of February: "Gen. Gage, though just returned from Boston, expresses his willingness to go back at a day's notice if convenient measures are adopted. He says, They will be lions while we are lambs; but if we take the resolute part, they will undoubtedly prove very meek. Four regiments, sent to Boston, will, he thinks, be sufficient to prevent any disturbance. All men now feel that the fatal compliance in 1766 has increased the pretensions of the Americans to thorough independence." On the 14th of March, Lord North brought in a Bill for removing the Custom House from Boston, and declaring it unlawful, after the 1st of June, to lade or unlade, ship or unship, any goods from any lading-place within the harbor of Boston. There was little opposition to this measure, which was passed in a fortnight, and when sent to the Lords was quickly adopted. Chatham suggested, in a letter to Shelburne, that repara-

The Boston Port Bill.

Chatham's opposition.

tion ought first to be demanded and refused before such a bill could be called just. The letter of Chatham, in which he makes this suggestion, is that of a great statesman, exhibiting the sound qualities of his mind perhaps even more clearly than his impassioned oratory: "The whole of this unhappy business is beset with dangers of the most complicated and lasting nature; and the point of true wisdom for the mother country seems to be in such nice and exact limits (accurately distinguished, and embraced, with a large and generous moderation of spirit), as narrow, short-sighted counsels of state, or over-heated popular debates, are not likely to hit. Perhaps a fatal desire to take advantage of this guilty tumult of the Bostonians, in order to crush the spirit of liberty among the Americans in general, has taken possession of the heart of government."

Coercive measures.

In the "heart of government" there was no place for conciliation. The Boston Port Bill, backed up by military force, was to be followed by other measures of coercion. On the 28th of March, Lord North brought in a Bill for regulating the government of Massachusetts Bay. "I propose," he said, "in this Bill to take the executive power from the hands of the democratic part of government." The proposition went, in many important particulars, to annul the Charter granted to the province by William III. The council was to be

appointed by the Crown; the magistrates were to be nominated by the Governor. This Bill also passed, after ineffectual debate. A third Bill enacted, that during the next three years, the Governor of Massachusetts might, if it was thought that an impartial trial of any person could not be secured in that Colony, send him for trial in another Colony; or to Great Britain, if it were thought that no fair trial could be obtained in the Colonies. The object of the Bill was distinctly stated by Lord North—"Unless such a bill should pass into a law the executive power will be unwilling to act, thinking they will not have a fair trial without it." Colonel Barré strongly remonstrated against such a measure. The Bill was to protect the military power in any future encounters with the people. The King rejoices "in the feebleness and futility of opposition." The British people were not allowed to be free judges of the great question at issue. On the discussion of the Bostonian Bills, Walpole says, "The doors of both Houses were carefully locked—a symptom of the spirit with which they were dictated." Perhaps if the words of Edmund Burke had gone forth to the world hot from his lips, instead of oozing out in a pamphlet, the people might have thought seriously of the crisis which called forth his eloquent philosophy. Lord Carmarthen, as Walpole records, produced a sensation on his first appearance in the House

Star Chamber methods.

of Commons. The young Lord's speech prompted one of the most splendid manifestations of Burke's genius: "A noble lord who spoke some time ago is full of the fire of ingenuous youth; and when he has modelled the ideas of a lively imagination by further experience, he will be an ornament to his country in either house. He has said that the Americans are our children, and how can they revolt against their parent? He says, if they are not free in their present state, England is not free; because Manchester, and other considerable places, are not represented. So then, because some towns in England are not represented, America is to have no representative at all. They are 'our children'; but when children ask for bread, we are not to give a stone. Is it because the natural resistance of things, and the various mutations of time, hinder our government, or any scheme of government, from being any more than a sort of approximation to the right, is it therefore that the Colonies are to recede from it infinitely? When this child of ours wishes to assimilate to its parent, and to reflect with a true filial resemblance the beauteous countenance of British liberty; are we to turn to them the shameful parts of our constitution? are we to give them our weakness for their strength; our opprobrium for their glory; and the slough of slavery, which we are not able to work off, to serve them for their freedom?"

Burke's speech.

Chatham supports the colonists.

The dangers of the country called forth Chatham from his retirement. Walpole describes him making his appearance in the House of Lords, on the 26th of May: "Lord Chatham, who was a comedian even to his dress, to excuse his late absence by visible tokens of the gout, had his legs wrapped in black velvet boots, and, as if in mourning for the King of France, he leaned on a crutch covered with black likewise." Walpole says, "He made a long feeble harangue." There are portions of the harangue which throw a doubt upon the taste or candor of the journalist.

Spirit of the New Englanders

The spirit of the New Englanders took the same course of thought as that of the first orator of the mother country. In proposing a General Congress of the several Houses of Assembly, John Hancock exclaimed, "Remember from whom you sprang." This was said on the 5th of March—two days before Lord North had delivered to Parliament the Royal Message which was the prelude to the measures which the British Government believed would ensure the submission of the Colonists. The people of Massachusetts, in their proceedings of the 16th of December, "had passed the river and cut away the bridge." Lord Mansfield called upon the Peers to delay not in carrying the Boston Port Bill: "Pass this Act, and you will have crossed the Rubicon." Before the men of Massachu-

setts knew of the severities that were hanging over them, the most violent of their leaders, Samuel Adams, had officially drawn up instructions for Franklin, the agent for the Colony, which concluded with these words: "Their old good-will and affection for the parent country are not totally lost. If she returns to her former moderation and good-humor, their affection will revive. They wish for nothing more than a permanent union with her upon the condition of equal liberty. This is all they have been contending for; and nothing short of this will or ought to satisfy them." The same language was held in 1774 by George Washington.

Colonial Tories.

But it must not be assumed that the universal opinion of the colonial communities was that of Samuel Adams or John Hancock, or even of George Washington or Thomas Jefferson. There was a large party in every province who were avowed Royalists; and who gradually acquired the name of Tories. They were not wanting in encouragement from England. They had the support of a preponderating majority in Parliament, which sanguine persons thought would overawe the malcontents. "Nothing can be more calculated," writes the King to Lord North, "to bring the Americans to a due submission than the very handsome majority that at the outset appears in both Houses." This was written on the 22d of January, 1775, a new Parlia-

ment having met on the previous 29th of November. The American Royalists would not lack private instigations from individuals of eminence in England, to oppose their rebellious countrymen. The conversational opinions of the famous Dr. Johnson might reach them, even before they read his pamphlet, *Taxation no Tyranny*. They might be told that Edward Gibbon, of rising literary reputation, held that the right was on the side of the mother country. The future great historian was returned to Parliament in 1774, and was prepared to speak on the American question, if he could have overcome "timidity fortified by pride." Whatever may be now the prevailing sentiment upon the colonial quarrel, we can not shut our eyes to the fact that the controversy was one that involved great principles, and called forth the highest energies of great intellects. On either side of the Atlantic was manifested the grandeur of the Anglo-Saxon mind. Chatham, in 1775, paid a deserved tribute to the qualities displayed in the first American Congress: "When your lordships look at the papers transmitted us from America—when you consider their decency, firmness, and wisdom—you can not but respect their cause, and wish to make it your own. For myself I must declare and avow, that in all my reading and observation —(I have read Thucydides, and have studied and admired the master-states of the world)

Taxation no Tyranny.

Chatham's tribute.

—that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the General Congress at Philadelphia. I trust it is obvious to your lordships that all attempts to impose servitude upon such men, to establish despotism over such a mighty continental nation, must be vain, must be fatal."

Differences of opinion.

The differences of opinion in America ought to have retarded the terrible issue that was approaching. The fears of the timid, the hopes of the loyal, were opposed to the advocates of resistance, and might have prevailed to avert the notion of independence. In an unhappy hour, blood was shed; and conciliation then became a word that was uttered to deaf ears in England as in America.

General Gage appointed Governor of Massachusetts.

The ministry after passing their coercive Bills had determined to send out General Gage to supersede Hutchinson as Governor of Massachusetts, and to be Commander-in-Chief in the Colonies. He would have to act upon a system distinctly opposed to the old chartered system of free local government. He undervalued, as we have seen, the resistance which was to be brought against him, and relied too absolutely upon "four regiments." His appointment was not disagreeable to the New Englanders. He had lived among them, and had honorably executed the military authority with which he had been

previously intrusted. In an unhappy hour he arrived at Boston, on the 13th of May, 1774. A vessel which came there before him brought a copy of the Boston Port Bill. When Gage came into the harbor, the people were holding a meeting to discuss that Act of the British Legislature which deprived them of their old position in the commerce of the world—which doomed their merchants and all dependent upon them to absolute ruin. There was but one feeling. The meeting entered into resolutions, to which they invited the co-operation of the other Colonies, for the purpose of suspending all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, and the West Indies, until the Act was repealed. Copies of the Act were everywhere circulated, printed with a black border. But there was no violence. The new Governor was received with decorum, but without the accustomed honors. General Gage gave the Assembly notice that on the 1st of June, according to the provisions of the Act, their place of meeting would be removed to the town of Salem. When the spirit of opposition to his dictates was getting up, the Governor suddenly adjourned the Assembly. He was asked to appoint the 1st of June as a day of general prayer and fasting. He refused. In Virginia the House of Burgesses appointed the 1st of June as a day of humiliation, to avert the calamity of their loss of rights, or the miseries of civil war. They

His reception

were immediately dissolved. The Assembly of Virginia did not separate without recommending a General Congress. The idea universally spread. Meanwhile, General Gage had an encampment of six regiments on a common near Boston, and had begun to fortify the isthmus which connects the town with the adjacent country. The 1st of June came. There was no tumult. Business was at an end; Boston had become a city of the dead.

The General Congress.

The first Congress, consisting of fifty-five members, met at Philadelphia on the 4th of September. The place of their meeting was Carpenter's Hall. Peyton Randolph was chosen as their President. Their proceedings were conducted with closed doors. The more earnest party gradually obtained the ascendency over the more timid. They drew up a Declaration of Rights. They passed Resolutions to suspend all imports from Great Britain or Ireland after the 1st of December, and to discontinue all exports after the 10th of September in the ensuing year, unless the grievances of America should be redressed. They published Addresses to the people of Great Britain and of Canada, and they decided upon a petition to the King. These were the papers that called forth the eulogium of Chatham. The Congress dissolved themselves on the 26th of October; and resolved that another Congress should be convened on the 10th of May, 1775.

Address to Great Britain and Canada.

After the 1st of June the irremediable conflict between the Governor and Representatives of the people soon put an end to the legal course of government. General Gage was so wholly deserted by the Council, that the meeting of the Assembly, which was proposed to take place at Salem in October, could not be regularly convened. Writs for the election of members had been issued, but were afterward annulled by proclamation. The elections took place. The persons chosen assembled, and styled themselves a Local Congress. A Committee of Safety was appointed. They enrolled militia, called "Minute Men," whose engagement was that they should appear in arms at a minute's notice. They appointed commanders. They provided ammunition. The knowledge of the two Acts of Parliament which had followed that for shutting up the Port of Boston, not only provoked this undisguised resolve to resist to the death among the people of Massachusetts, but called up the same growing determination throughout the vast continent of America.

The "Minute Men."

Chatham's conciliatory Bill made some impression upon Lord North, who proposed a very weak measure, as a Resolution of the House of Commons, that if any of the American provinces, by their legislature, should make some provision for the defence and government of that province, which should be approved by the King and Parliament, then it

might be proper to forbear imposing any tax. This was to attempt to put out a conflagration with a bucket of water.

If the highest efforts of argument could have been availing, the speech of Edmund Burke, on the 22d of March, would have arrested the headlong course of the government. At this moment a Bill was passing both Houses which Burke called "the great penal Bill by which we had passed sentence on the trade and sustenance of America." It was a Bill to prohibit certain Colonies from fishing on the banks of Newfoundland. Great Britain was not ashamed to resort to this petty measure of retaliation against the American non-importation agreements. Burke proposed a series of conciliatory Resolutions, of a less sweeping nature than those of Chatham, and therefore more likely to be acceptable to men of temperate opinions. They were rejected on a division of two hundred and seventy against seventy-eight. The speech of the great statesman presented a masterly review of the wonderful growth of the American Colonies—their successful industry, their commercial importance to Great Britain. The whole export trade of England, including the colonial trade, was six millions and a half in 1704. The export trade to the Colonies alone was six millions in 1772. These statistical facts were suddenly illumined by a burst of oratory, perhaps unrivalled. Allen, Lord Bathurst, tc

"The great penal Bill."

Trade of the Colonies.

whom Pope addressed his *Epistle on the Use of Riches*—Bathurst "unspoiled by wealth," the father of the Lord Chancellor of 1775,—was cited by Burke as one that might remember all the stages of the growth of our national prosperity. He was in 1704 "of an age at least to be made to comprehend such things." "Suppose that the angel of that auspicious youth" had opened to him in vision the fortunes of his house in the twelfth year of the third prince of the line of Brunswick: "If amid these bright and happy scenes of domestic honor and prosperity, that angel should have drawn up the curtain, and unfolded the rising glories of his country, and while he was gazing with admiration on the then commercial grandeur of England, the genius should point out to him a little speck, scarce visible in the mass of the national interest, a small seminal principle, rather than a formed body, and should tell him—'Young man, there is America—which at this day serves for little more than to amuse you with stories of savage men, and uncouth manners; yet shall, before you taste of death, show itself equal to all of that commerce which now attracts the envy of the world. Whatever England has been growing to by a progressive increase of improvement, brought in by varieties of people, by a succession of civilizing conquests and civilizing settlements in a series of seventeen hundred years, you shall see as much added

Marvellous growth.

to her by America in the course of a single life.' If this state of his country had been foretold to him, would it not require all the sanguine credulity of youth, and all the fervid glow of enthusiasm, to make him believe it? Fortunate man, he has lived to see it! Fortunate indeed, if he lives to see nothing that shall vary the prospect, and cloud the setting of his day!"

Contrarieties of public opinion.

The contrarieties of public opinion in Great Britain and Ireland upon the American question were exhibited in petitions from various corporate bodies. Many manufacturing towns petitioned against the coercion Acts, as destructive of the commerce of the country. Other petitions called for an enforcement of the legislative supremacy of Great Britain, as the only means of preserving a trade with the Colonies. There were war petitions and peace petitions. Those who signed the war petitions were held to be mere party-men known as Tories. Those who signed the peace petitions were discontented Whigs, or something worse. The Quakers, while they exhorted to peace, maintained the loyalty of all religious denominations in America to the King's person, family and government.

London's remonstrance.

The citizens of London, with Wilkes at their head as Lord-Mayor, presented an Address and Remonstrance to the King on the throne, in which they denounced the measures of the government as deliberately intended to estab-

lish arbitrary power all over America. The King answered, that it was with the utmost astonishment that he found any of his subjects capable of encouraging the rebellious disposition which existed in some of his Colonies in America. From such different points of view did men regard this great argument. As usual in England, the most serious questions had their ludicrous aspect. Caricatures were numerous. One represented America as a struggling female, held down by Lord Mansfield, while Lord North was drenching her with "a strong dose of tea." In another, Britannia is thrown down upon her child America, while Lord North is pumping upon both of them, looking exultingly through his eyeglass. The partisans of the minister struck a medal in his honor.

Divided counsels.

Caricatures

The close of 1774 was, in Massachusetts, the silence before the storm. The people were arming. The Provincial Congress had formed an arsenal at Concord, an inland town. The British troops made no movements during the winter to interfere with these hostile demonstrations.

Massachusetts arms

On the evening of the 18th of April, Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, of the 10th Foot, marched, by order of Governor Gage, with a body of grenadiers and light infantry, for Concord, with the purpose of destroying all the military stores collected there. "Notwithstanding," writes Lieutenant-Colonel

The embattled farmers.

Smith in his despatch, "we marched with the utmost expedition and secrecy, we found the country had intelligence or strong suspicion of our coming, and fired many signal guns, and rung the alarm bells repeatedly; and we were informed, when at Concord, that some cannon had been taken out of town that day; that others, with some stores, had been carried away three days before, which prevented our having an opportunity of destroying so much as might have been expected at our first setting off." Six light infantry companies were despatched to seize two bridges on different roads beyond Concord. They found country people drawn on a green, with arms and accoutrements. The troops advanced, according to the lieutenant-colonel, without any intention of injuring the people; but, nevertheless, they were fired upon, and the soldiers fired again. When the detachment reached Concord, there was a more serious skirmish, with a very considerable body of countrymen. "At Concord," the narrative continues, "we found very few inhabitants in the town; those we met with, both Major Pitcairn and myself took all possible pains to convince that we meant them no injury, and that if they opened their doors when required to search for military stores, not the slightest mischief would be done. We had opportunities of convincing them of our good intentions, but they were sulky, and one

Skirmish at Concord.

of them even struck Major Pitcairn. On our leaving Concord to return to Boston, they began to fire on us from behind walls, ditches, trees, etc., which, as we marched, increased to a very great degree, and continued without the intermission of five minutes altogether, for, I believe, upward of eighteen miles; so that I can't think but it must have been a preconcerted scheme in them to attack the King's troops the first favorable opportunity that offered, otherwise I think they could not, in so short a time as from our marching out, have raised such a numerous body, and for so great a space of ground." The destruction of the detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Smith by a large body of infuriated men was averted by the arrival at Lexington of a reinforcement sent out by General Gage. The British continued to retreat before their resolute opponents. They did not reach their quarters till night had fallen—worn out with fatigue, and with a loss of two or three hundred in killed, wounded, and prisoners. There was no open fight, for the Minute Men were in ambush, and picked off the officers and men of the detachment from their secure hiding among trees and behind stone walls.

Retreat of the British.

The news of the affair of Lexington arrived in England at the end of May. The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts knew the effect that would be produced upon public opinion in the mother country when it should be

Receipt of the news

learnt that the King's troops had been defeated. The day after the skirmish, this Congress despatched a vessel to England, without freight, for the sole purpose of carrying letters detailing this triumph. Walpole has described the impression produced by the receipt of this intelligence in London—"May 28. Arrived a light sloop, sent by the Americans from Salem, with an account of their having defeated the King's troops." He then gives details of the news received, which seems to have been free from exaggeration. "The advice was immediately dispersed, while the government remained without any intelligence. Stocks immediately fell. The provincials had behaved with the greatest conduct, coolness, and resolution. One circumstance spoke a thorough determination of resistance: the provincials had sent over affidavits of all that had passed, and a colonel of the militia had sworn in an affidavit that he had given his men orders to fire on the King's troops, if the latter attacked them. It was firmness, indeed, to swear to having been the first to begin what the Parliament had named rebellion. Thus was the civil war begun, and a victory the first fruits of it on the side of the Americans, whom Lord Sandwich had had the folly and rashness to proclaim cowards."

Fall of stocks.

Ticonderoga and Crown Point captured.

While the provincials of Massachusetts and the troops of General Gage had thus been brought into a collision which had more the

character of accident than of preconcerted hostilities, a bold and successful attempt was made in another quarter, which could only be interpreted as a deliberate act of warfare. Forty volunteers, well armed, had set out, at the instigation of some leading men of Connecticut, to form part of an expedition which was to attack Ticonderoga, a fort on Lake George, and Crown Point, a fort on Lake Champlain. If these were taken, the invasion of Canada by the American militia would be greatly facilitated. The Connecticut volunteers were joined on their march by Ethan Allen, who had many volunteers under his command; and by Benedict Arnold, who subsequently obtained a celebrity not the most honorable. Ticonderoga was garrisoned by only forty-four soldiers, under the command of Captain de la Place. On the morning of the 10th of May, the commander was roused in his bed; saw his fort surrounded by several hundred men in arms; and was required to surrender "In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." The demand was not resisted. Crown Point was also surprised by the same body of adventurers.

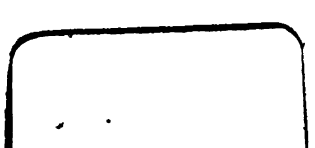
Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold.

The affair of Lexington was the commencement of the American war. More decisive encounters very speedily followed between the King's troops and many thousand Americans in arms.

On the day that Ticonderoga fell into the

hands of these American partisans, the General Congress assembled for the second time at Philadelphia, and on June 17, the battle of Bunker Hill was fought between 2,500 British under Howe and Pigott, and 1,500 Americans under Prescott. The British loss was about 1,050 and that of the Americans about 450.

[In 1774, the peace of Kutchuks Kainardji brings the war between Russia and Turkey to an end; Russia gains many advantages. In 1775, Turkey gives up Bukovina to Austria. In 1776, Louis XV. holds a Bed of Justice and Neckar comes into power. Adam Smith publishes his *Wealth of Nations;* and the first volume of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* appears. Captain Cook discovers the Sandwich Islands. The English Parliament passes a resolution against the Slave Trade.]

Wealth of Nations and Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

END OF VOLUME FIVE